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LETTERS
OF
JOHN GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE,
VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE,
/
WITH
ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.



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THE BANNATYNE CLUB,

JULY MDCCCXXVI.

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RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

TO

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF THE

BANNATYNE CLUB,

BY

GEORGE SMYTHE.

THE following Letters were collected by my friend Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe, to whose kindness I am indebted for the permission to print them, as my contribution to the Bannatyne Club. The originals of those address to the Earl of Linlithgow, which occupy the beginning of the volume, are, with a single exception, in the possession of J. A. Maconochie, Esq., by whom they were discovered, some years ago, in a garret, at Callender House, the ancient seat of the Linlithgow family. The letter at page 28, which contains an account of the affair at Drumclog, was, at a very early period, separated from the rest of the Linlithgow papers, having been transmitted, immediately after it was received, to the Duke of Lauderdale, who was then in London ; and, in the course of last year, it was purchased, at a public sale there, by his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, who, with the utmost liberality, ordered a copy of it to be sent to me, as soon as my intention of

printing this collection was intimated to him. It is unnecessary to specify here the sources from which the contents of the rest of the volume have been derived, as these are mentioned in the notes to the different letters as they occur. I shall only observe that, wherever I have had access to the original documents, I have adhered strictly to the old spelling.

The documents printed in the Appendix were communicated to me by William Stirling Graham, of Duntrune, Esq., in whose possession the originals still remain. To that gentleman I must take this opportunity of returning my thanks, for the readiness which he has shown in affording me all the information, in his power, regarding his illustrious relative.

The ornament on the first page contains the portraits of Lord and Lady Dundee. That of Lord Dundee is taken from a picture at Melville House : that of Lady Dundee from a picture which formerly belonged to the Dundonald family, and which is now in my possession.

The tail-piece represents a curious ring which belonged to my great grandmother, Catherine Cochrane, wife of David Smythe of Methven, and which is said to have been given to her by her father, William Cochrane of Kilmar-

onock, the brother of Lady Dundee. It contains hair, which I conjecture to be that of Lord Dundee, upon which the letters V. D. are worked in gold, with a Viscount's coronet above. The following posey and a death's head are engraved on the inside :

Great Dundee,
For God and me. J. REX.

A ring exactly similar is in the possession of the Duntrune family.

G. S.

EDINBURGH, *Sept.* 1, 1826.



FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW,
COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

Moffet, December the 28th, 1678.

MY LORD,

I CAME here last night with the troupe, and am just going to mairch for Dumfriche, wher I resolve to quarter the whole troup. I have not heard any thing off the dragoons, thogh it be now about nyn a clock, and they should have been here last night, according to your Lordship's order. I supose they must have taken some other rout. I am informed since I came, that this contry has been very loose ; on Tusday was aight days, and Sondy, ther were grate field

conventikles just by here, with great contempt of the regular clergy, who complain extreamly, when I tell them I have no orders to apprehend any body for past misdoers. And besyds that, all the particular orders I have beeng contined in that order of quartering, every place wher we quarter must see them, which maks them fear the less. I am informed that the most convenient post for quartering the dragoons, will be Moffet, Lochmaben, and Anan, wherby the wholl contry may be keep in awe. Beside that, my Lord, they tell me that the one end of the bridge of Dumfries is in Galaw, and that they may hold conventicles at our nose, we not dare to disspat them, seing our orders confines us to Dumfries and Anandell. Such ane insult as that would not please me ; and on the other hand, I am unwilling to exceed orders, so that I expect from your Lordship orders how to cary in such cases. I send this with on of my troupe, who is to attend orders till he be relieved. I will send on every Monday, and the dragoons every Thursday, so that I will have the hapiness to give your Lordship acompt of our affaires twice a week, and your Lordship ocasion to send your commands for us as often ; in the mean tyme, my Lord, I shall be doing, according to the instructions I have, what shall be found most advantageous for the King's service, and most agreeable to your Lordship.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's

most humble and most obedient servant,

J. GRAHAME.

My Lord, if your Lordship give me any new order, I will bigue

they may be keep as secret as possible, and send for me so sudenly, as the information som of the favorers of the fanatiks are to send, may be previned, which will extreamly facilittat the executing of them.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.

Dumfrish, Jan. 6th, 1679.

MY LORD,

In the letter your Lordship has been pleased to honor me with, you tell me that Captain English¹ has given your Lordp. notice that I had apointed him to quarter at Lochmeben and Anan; which must be a mistake in him, for the order I sent him was to quarter on half of his compaignie at Moffet, and the other at Anan, wher they ar, and have been since they came in to this contry. Lochmeben I left out, because I was informed that ther was no convenieney for lodging any body ther, which I fynd to be trew, having been upon the place since myself. Nor does all this disagree from what I wrot to your Lordp. about there keeping gairde here in the castle, I having, in the order for quartering, apointed ten men to be sent hither out of each of those quarters, who wer to stay within the castle, ten of them to lay in beds which I have caused prepair in a

¹ Captain John English, or Inglis, commanded a troop of dragoons, and in this capacity is frequently mentioned by Wodrow. His son, Patrick Inglis, was also in the army, and attained to the rank of cornet (*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 589); but he afterwards met with an untimely death, by falling from the top of a house in Kilmarnock. (*God's Justice exemplified in his Judgements upon Persecutors*, p. 48.) "Captain James English, son to the late — English, of Scots Dragoons," is in the lists of officers sent over from St Germaines to Ireland, in 1691. (*Carstares's State Papers*, p. 141.)

chamber of the castle, and the other ten keep gaird in the great hall, and relieve on an other, for aight days, when ther should com as many in there place ; and this is no hard deuty every tent night. I have six of my troop every night on gaird, which comes to the same proportion. My Lord, since I have seen the act of counsel, the scrupal I had about undertaking any thing without the bounds of ther two shairs, is indeed frivolous, but was not so befor ; for if there had been no such act, it had not been save for me to have done any thing but what my order warranted, and since I knew it not, it was to me the same thing as if it had not been. And for my ignorance of it, I must acknowledge that till now in any service I have been in, I never inquyred further in the Lawes then the orders of my superiour officers. After I had sent the counsels order to the Stewart deput,¹ he apointed Frydy last, the thrid of January, for the demolishing the meeting-house,² and that I should bring with me only on quaid of my troop. He broght with him fourscore of contry men, all fanaticks, for they would not lay to ther hands till we forced them ; every body gave out that house for a bayr, but when they saw that ther was no quarter for it, and that we was com on the place, no body had the impodence to deny it to have been built a purpose for meeting, and that upon the expence of the comon purse of the disaffected. It was a good large house, of above sixty foot of lenth, and betuixt twenty and thretty broad ; it had only on door, tuo windows in evry syd, and on in evry end ;

¹ James Carruthers, Stewart depute of Annandale.

² This meeting-house was situated in the neighbourhood of Castlemilk : the order of the Privy Council for its destruction was issued 12th December 1678.—*Cruikshanks*, vol. i. p. 474.

they had put up staiks alongs evry syd, and a hek and menger in on of the ends, to mak it pass for a bayr ; but that was but don latly, after they had heard that it was taken notice of for a meeting house. The stewart deput performed his pairt punctually anogh ; the walls wer throwen down, and timber burnt. So perished the charity of many ladys.

On Saturdays night when I came bak here, the sergent who commands the dragoons in the castle came to see me, and whyll he was here, they cam and told me ther was a horse killed just by, upon the street, by a shot from the castle. I went imediatly and examined the gaird, who denayed point blank that there had been any shot from thence. I went and heard the bayly tak depositions of men that wer looking on, who declaired upon oath that they sawe the shot from the gaird hall, and the horse imediatly fall. I caused also searche for the bullet in the horse head, which was found to be of ther calibre. After that I found it so clear, I caused sease upon him who was ordered by the sergent in his absence to comand the gaird, and keep him prisoner till he fynd out the man, which I supose will be found himself. His name is James Ramsey, an Angus-man, who has formerly been a lievetenent of hors, as I am informed. It is an ogly business ; for beseids the wrong the poor man has got in loosing his horse, it is extreamly against military disciplin to fyr out of a gaird. I have apointed the poor man to be here to-morow, and bring with him som neigboors to declare the worth of the horse, and have assewred him to satisfy him, if the captain, who is to be here also to-morow, refuse to doe it. I am sory to hear of an other accident has befallen the dragons, which I believe your Lordship

knows better then I, seeing they say that there is a complent maid of it to your Lordship, or the Counsel, which is, that they have shot a man in the arm with small shot, and disinabled him of it, who had com this lenth with a horse to carry bagadge for som of my officers ; but this being befor they cam to Moffet, does not concern me. The stewart deput, befor good compaignie, told me that severall people about Moffet wer resolved to mak a complent to the Counsel against the dragoons for taking frie quarter ; that if they would but pay ther horse corn and ther ell, they should have all the rest frie ; that ther wer som of the officers that had at ther owen hand apointed themselves locality above three myl from there quarter. I byged them to forbear till the captain and I should com there, when they should be redressed in every thing. Your Lordship will be pleased not to tak any notice of this, till I have informed myself upon the place. This toun is full of people that have recaited and lodged constantly in their houses intercomed persons and fild preachers. There ar som that absent themselves for fear ; and Captain Inglish tell me ther ar balays have absented themselves there at Anan, and desyred from me order to aprehend them, which I refused, for they ar not included in all the Act of Counsell. Mr Cuper, who is here baily and stewart for my Lord Stormont, offered to aprehend Bel, that built the meeting house, if I would concur ; I sayd to him that it would be acceptable, but that the order from the Counsell did only bear the taken up the names of persones accessory to the building of it.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

FOR THE EARLLE OF LINLITHGOW, MAJOR-GENERALL AND
COMANDER IN CHIEFFE OF ALL HIS MAJESTIES
FORCES IN SCOTLAND.

MY LORD,

THE sojors and my selfe has sent your Lo: auchtyne watter foulls, whereof 15 duik and draik, with three teall, 12 partridges, and 4 black coiks. My Lo: the storme is grytt, and continued heir this twelve weiks. My Lo: Capt. Grahame wrote to me ther was ane locallity apoynted, and the shyre was to meett; ther is ane nessesity for [this]; lett the raitts be never so dear, for in and about this tounne there is little ether for horsse or man. My Lord, Clavers sent to me for ane list of disorderly persons in this countrey. I did send itt; but the most disorderly are in the beat up land and Lidesdeall, being all ritch men, wher now conventikls abound, and further into Tiviotdeall; ther is Laird of Breadkirk¹ in this paroise, he with his lady, read in there with Mr Williamsone.² Ther is ane other, the Laird of Hoomains,³ ane grytt reseter of ministers, who is gone for Edinbruch upon our entrie heir, with severalls who keips not their ounne houisses. My Lord, Brysse Blair, upon discontent of being put outt of being provost, and also collector in the shyre,

¹ Adam Carlyle of Bridekirk, a cadet of the Torthorald family.

² The well-known Mr David Williamson, minister of the West-Kirk.

³ John Carruthers of Holmains.

after paissing of some gryt men throuch this countrey, he and many others grow worse than beffor, and the orderly sort, who are alyke burdened, cry outt, they will all leave their church if we wer gone. My Lord, I have receaved that two hundred punds, and cleared for fyve months with thosse heir, and am coming for Moffat to clear with them : all things are boith scarce and dear. I have obeyed your Lo: commands as to George Gordon, and mounted him well. So, humbly craving pardon,

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lo: most obliged faithfull servant,

JO: INGLISH.

Annan, 29th January, 1679.

INFORMATIONE ANENT THE TAKING OF GEORGE KARR HIS
HORSE, WHILST HE WAS UPON THE KING'S DEUTY.

GEORGE KARR, in Cap. Inglish company, was sent from Drumfreisse, commanding some prisoners, had his horse taken from him by his owne brother in law, who dwells in Leith ; his name is William Kepe. The horse was in his possessione since the sext of Junii last ; nether did any, to my knowledge, ever requyer payment for him, otherwayes, upon demand, the money should have been payed ; nether did the sojor expect any such thing, being from his brother in law ; but that at his conveniency he might pay the horsse. Yett, by the strong hand, the sojor being alone, did fall upon him, and

did take back the horss, after the sayd tyms possessione, whilst he was upon his Majesties service, so that he was forced to return, with his saddle upon his back, fyftie four mylls to his quarters ; for which abuisse, I hope yo: Lo: will cause return the horse, and I shall answer the money, which is 25lb: Scotts, the horse being now better than 40lb: which was the ocassione of his being taken back be that fellow.

JO: ENGLISH.

My Lo: I hope your Lo: will causse send him by the other ordinance, whom I have sent the bearer to relieve.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.

Dumfries, Febr: the 7th, 1679.

MY LORD,

The nixt day after I sent the rolls to your Lordship, I went to Anan, and comunicat the business to Captain English, that he might be in radyness again advertisment ; and from thence I went to Moffet to meet your Lordship's ordor, which was half a day longer a coming then I expected. I gave Lievetenent Cleland¹ orders to

¹ This is probably the Captain Clelland who was killed at Muirdyke, in Ayrshire, when attacking a party of rebels under Sir John Cochrane, in their retreat after the dispersion of Argyle's forces.—*Brysson's Memoirs*, p. 328.

cease on three, and sent an express to Captain English that he might cease on other three, and appointed them Wednesday at six a clock at night to march. I came hither, and found twenty dragoons going to relieve, whom I made stay, and sent them to cease on Howmens,¹ Dormont,² and Denby.³ We got only Dormont; the other two, as they say, are gone to Edinbourg to give satisfaction to the Counsel. If they stay in this country, I shall indever to fynd them. I sent on of my corporalls for the two Welchs,⁴ and he found them both. I sent an other for to sease on Dalskarf,⁵ but he found him not at his own house. We made shearch for him here in town, but did not fynd him, thogh he was here. The third brigadier I sent to seek the wobster; he broght in his brother for him. Thogh he may be can not preach as his brother, I dout not but he is as well principiled as he; wherfor, I thoght it would be no great falt to give him the troble to goe with the rest. I send Captain English letter and his lievetenents to your Lordship, which will give you acompt of there diligence. I have sent the prisoners away this day with a gaird of twenty, ten troupe horse, and ten dragons, comanded by Mr Craford, on of my corporalls. I hop your Lordship will send

¹ John Carruthers of Holmains.

² John Carruthers of Dormont.

³ George Carruthers of Denby.

⁴ Probably William and James Welch, brothers of Welch of Scarr, who were engaged in the rebellion at Bothwell Bridge, and were tried and convicted of treason Dec. 1682.—*Howel's State Trials*, vol. ix. p. 909.

⁵ Robert Grierson of Dalskarth.

out to him when he comes neer the toun, to late him know to what place he shall bring them. I expect orders from your Lordship about the fyning of the others in the rolls.

I am, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. GRAHAME.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.

Dumfries, Feb^r: the 8th, 1679.

MY LORD,

I was the day befor yesterday at Thornhille, which my Lord Quensbury¹ had apointed for the place wher the comissioners should meet with us about the furnishing hay and straw for the troupes quartered in the shyr and stewartry; but found no body there but my Lord himself and Craigdalloch,² who seemed very forward in evry thing that might be for the King's service, and very rady to doe me particular kyndnesess, but not being a coram they could not proceed. They thoght strange that we, who have the honor to serve the King, should be ordered by the counsell to pay mor for hay and straw then will be asked from any strenger; that if it had been recomended to them, they would have given us a better bargain. My Lord, I hope your Lordship will not suffer those under

¹ William, first Duke of Queensberry.

² Robert Fergusson of Craigharroch.

your comand to be thus used, nor the counsell suffer such a peremptor order of thers, as that was, to be thus neglected. I am forced to lait the dragoons quarter at lairge in the contry. I have visited ther quarter, and found it impossible they can subsist any longer ther without a locality ; what prejudice the King's service may re- caive by this, I know not, but I am seur that it is extreamly improper to be thus quartered, in a tyme that the counsell seems resolved to proceed vigourusly against the disorders of this contry. In the stewartry of Galowa we have got nothing don ether ; there has not been al this whyl in the contry but two of the comissioners ; the rest ar all at Edinbourg. What to doe in this case your Lordship can best tell ; for my pairt, if my troupe com to want hay and straw, I will goe to any of the comissioners lands that ar adjacent, and taik it, offering the rats, and think I doe nothing but what I may answer for, though I be very unwilling to disoblidge any gentlemen. My Lord, good intelligence is the thing we want most here. Mr Welch¹ and others preach securly with in twenty or thretty myles of us, but we can doe nothing for want of spays ; if the counsell and your Lordship thoght fit, there should be so many intertined for every quarter, which would be of great use. I am,

My Lord, your Lordship's

most faithfull and most obedient servant,

J. GRAHAME.

¹ Mr John Welch, minister of Irongray. By a proclamation, 6th Feb. 1679, a reward of 9000 merks was offered for his apprehension.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. app. p. 1.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.

Dumfries, Feb: the 24th, 1679.

MY LORD,

I obeyed the order about seasing persons in Galowa that very night I receaved it, as far as it was possible, that is to say, all that was within fourty myles, which is the most can be riden in on night : and of six mad search for, I found only two, which are John Liviston, bayly of Kilkoubry, and John Blak, tresurer there. The other two balys wher flaid, and there wyfes laying above the clothes in the bed, and great candles lighted, waiting for the coming of the party, and told them they knew of there coming, and had as good intelligence as they themselves, and that if the other two was seased on, it was ther owen falts, that would not contribut for intelligence. And the truth is, they had tyme anogh to be advertised, for the order was deated the 15, and came not to my hands till the twenty. I layd the fellow in the gaird that broght it, so soon as I considered the date, where he has layen ever since, and had it not been for respect to Mr Maitland, who recomened him to me, I would have put him out of the troupe with infamy. The names of the other two I made search for, were Cassenkary¹ and the Lady Lauriston,² but found them not. Ther is almost no body lays in ther bed, that

¹ John Muir or Moor, of Cassincarry.

² The lady of Laurie of Lauriston.

knowes themselves any ways guilty, with in fourty milles of us, and with in a few days I shall be upon them three scor of mylles of, at on bout for seasing on the others contined in the order. My Lord, I hop your Lordship will consider how hard it will be to keep so vast a contry as this is with so few forces ; betwixt Portpatrik, and som of the Duk of Monmouth bounds laying with in the stewartry of Anandelle, wher I hear Mr Williamson is at this present, there is above a hondred myles. However, my Lord, I shall doe my best indevors in every thing I am comanded, but it will be absolutly necessary to have garison here. I resolve to take up my quarter at Kilkoubrie, becaus it is in the center of the other quarters. There is on thing your Lordship would be pleased to give orders about, that those of the quarter of Air send befor to secur the sea ports on that coast, as I shall doe at Portpatrik and Balantyr,¹ for all those rogues run over to Yrland, and no body should have lieve to pass with out a sufficient pass, nor anebody sheltered in any place, or recaved, that fley from any of there disafected places, wher the forces ar quartered. I wait for orders about our march.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's

most humble and obedient servant,

J. GRAHAME.

Your Lordship will receave here inclosed a bond of cautionery for the apearance of the two we siezed on, which I am informed to be sufficient.

¹ Ballantrae.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW,
COMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

MY LORD,

I take the liberty to wryt yet this lyn to your Lordship, because in my other letter I forgot to give your Lordship an accompt of an disorder that befelle som of the garison of Stranraer, when they pairted from thence. William Graham,¹ who comanded there, was marchd, and had comanded so many foot to wait on a prissoner whom they wer to bring along with them, on of which offered to sease on the old provist's horses, thogh without orders, which he indevared to hinder, and layd hands on the soger, upon which he took out a durk, and gave the provist a mortall wound, of which he is not yet dead, but is very ill. The soger was seased on by the touns people, and his comrad by the dragoons at Wigton; and since, when William Graham went back to clear of his quarters, he demanded the soger of them, which they refused. I desyr to know of your Lordship what is to be don in it. I think it not fit a soger should be in there hands, but Philiphaugh² will speak to you himself.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

¹ Probably the same person who is mentioned by Wodrow as the Cornet of Claverhouse's troop in 1683.

² Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh. He was appointed one of the Lords of Session in 1689, and in 1705 was raised to the office of Lord Register, through the interest of the Duke of Queensberry.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.

Dumfries, 17 Mar. 79.

MY LORD,

When I came to this place Saturdays night, I understood that Claverhouse troupe had marched hence, the Wednesday befor, to the uttmost parts of Galloway, by your Lps. former order, the last not having reachd Dumfries till Wednesdays night, since the reecat of which he ordered the troupes retorne hither yisternight, all save a party he hath left in Galloway ; a lewtenant and fourty foot are come hither lykwayes, our horses are extreemly fatigued. Whyll the troupe wes heer, many of the dissorderly persons had fledd, who upon the troups removall returned ; so that severity will be neces-sarie heer. I am hopefull your Lopp. will mynd thes instructiones from the Counsell to send them hither, that wee may not pass our tyme idly. The ordinance which is at Edinb: will be relieved by a dragoon from Galloway ; so that his coming hither presently will not dissapoynt y^r Lp. service. We are exceedingly abused by ex-acting on us for hay and corne ; the stone of hay not sold under x pence half penny, the peck of oats 9 pence. The comissioners for regulatting our locality lyve at such disstance, that they will never meet, and three being a coram, they will doe nothing if they be under that number. If your Lp. think fytt to add some to the number in the shyre of Dumfries, it would ease the affaire, namly, the

Laird of Lagg,¹ and the Laird of Closeburne.² Shall give your Lpp.

¹ Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Bart. died in the year 1733.—The following notice of him occurs in a MS. Abbreviate of the Records of Justiciary: “3d of June 1696—Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg indyted for clipping and coining false money, letting his castle of Rockhall, which lay in a remote place, for the mark: his buying up quantities of broad money, and causing the same to be clippt and recoyned in false ducatoon.” On the 22d of June 1696, the Court, at the desire of the Lord Advocate, deserted the diet against Sir Robert *simpliciter*.

² Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburne, Bart. a zealous enforcer of the measures of government, as appears from the subjoined extract from the account of the sufferings of Closeburn parish, among the Wodrow MSS. :—

“There was one James Crosbie, who was taken and prisoned, and he by the Lord’s providence made his escape out of prison. But when the Lairds was ryding, the Laird of Closeburn took him again, and thought to have shot him, but he was not suffered to do it; the Lord made some of themselves to stand in the way.

“Another family was forced to flee; and the man fell sick; and after his sickness was abated, he was win up again, and he scarce able to go upon his feet, there cam thrie cuntrie men, whom Closeburn had sent to search for others, did find him, and took him, and brought him to their master, who laid the test to him, butt he refused it. And then they took him to a dungeon, and put him sixteen steps of a stair beneath the ground, where was no light of day; and the ground being so wet and the unwholmess of the air, had almost choaked him, he being newly cooled of the fever. But it pleased the Lord to make a way for his escape, it being upon the Saturday at night. And upon the morrow, being the Sabbath day, they cam and seased upon all that he had, to the value of an thousand marks worth of gowd and gear.

“This is a brief hint of severall things that was done in this parish. But to speak of every thing that was done, and many that was imprisoned, sum shorter and sum longer, and then complied, sum by taking the test, and sum the abjuration: and besyd all, the Laird of Closeburn his ryding and raising all his men to ryd at his command, upon the hearing tell of any of thes men within his bounds: and the many courts he held in that place, for garing both old and young swear, by delating thes outted men: and compelling all to goe heer the curatts; for after the curatt of the parish (Mr Black) was dead, he fetched in other curatts to preach in the church, to be a snare to tender consciences: and whomsoever he met with in the way, he made them swear (or else go

no further troubell, than to confirme thos dewes of obedience I owe
your Lpp. under the character of,

My Lord,

Your Lodps. most faithfull humbel servant,

¹A. B. of Earleshall.

FOR THE EARL OF LINLITHGOW.

Dumfries, Apryll the 21, 79.

MY LORD,

I have sette at liberty Major Johnston, according to your Lordships order. I was going to have sent in the other prisoners, but amongst them there is on Mr Francis Irwin,² an old and infirm man, who is extreemly troubled with the gravelle, so that I will be forced to delay for five or six days. I fynd Mr Welch is acustoming both ends of the contry to face the Kings forces, and certenly intends to

to prison) such things as he required at them or laid to their charge : and as for his delating courts after Enterkin, there was few days, for near the space of a quarter of a year, but he was holding sum of them : and then, when the abjuration was putt to the people, he held many courts upon that, by cruell threatings if they refused, lykeways cannot be mentioned."

¹ Captain Andrew Bruce, son of Sir Andrew Bruce of Earls hall. By an order of Council Feb. 27 1679, he was appointed to act along with Claverhouse as Sheriff depute of the shires of Dumfries, Annandale, Wigton, and Kirkcudbright.—*Wodrow*, v. ii. p. 14. He commanded the King's forces in the conflict at Aird Moss, where Mr Richard Cameron was killed.

² The minister of Kirkmahoe. He was intercommuned in 1674, and, after having been apprehended by Claverhouse, was sentenced by the Privy Council to be confined in the Bass, May 27 1679.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 40.

brak out in ane open rebellion. I expect him here nixt. I am informed that there either was, or was designed yesterday, at Bigner, the terriblest convence that has been yet heard of, but I have no certainty of it, but it is generally beleved here. I expect oposition when we com to pund upon our decrits, but I am not feared we be forced. We lay all now at Kilkoubright and this place. There is here in prison a minister was taken above a year agoe by my Lord Nidsdelle, and by the well affected magistrats of this has had the liberty of an open prison, and mor conventicles has been kept by him there, than has been in any on house of the kingdom. This is a great abuse, and if the magistrats be not punished, at least the man ought not to be suffered any longer here, for that prison is more frequented than the kirk. If your Lordship think fit, he may be sent in with the rest. My Lord, I think it my deuty to put your Lordship in mynd that the armes of militia in this shyr, as well as in that of Wigton, and Annandelle, ar in the hands of the contry people, thogh very disaffected. This may prove in a sudain dangerous ; and beseids this, the armes wer taken from the Stewartry ar in the custody of the toun of Kilkoubright, the most irregular place of the kingdom. It wer fit we had the gaird of them, and lieve in case of necessity to provyd our infantry with sourds, and to change som of our pistolles for the horse. All those I gote out of the castelle ar worth nothing.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lops. most humble and obedient servant,

J. GRAHAME.

My Lord, I know not how to doe for hay, now when we lay so strong : we have not yet had any locality, nor ar we lyk to gate mony ; for my pairt I'l never solist it mor, but if the Kings service suffer, lat the blame lay wher it should.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW
MAJOR GENERALL TO HIS MAJ^{ties} FORCES.

Lanrick, 2 May, 1679.

MY LORD,

Ther hath nothing occured since y^r. Lo: parted hence which is considerable, ells I had given you notice of it. By letters from Claverus at Dumfris, and Captain Murray¹ from Air, I can learne nothing bot of ane inclination to ryse, bot that ther are non yet actually in armes. Captain Murray says, he finds ther hes bean mor noise made, then ther wes good ground for, in that cuntreye. I have given them notice of the conditione of afaires hear, which at present is prity quyet and peacable. I know not how long it will continew to be soe. This last night a horrible abuse hath fallen out, and of such a nature, that I could not bot give y^r. Lo: notice of it

¹ Perhaps George Murray, son of William Murray of Abercairney, who is stated by Douglas to have had a company in Lord Dumbarton's regiment.—*Douglas's Baronage*, p. 103. He was drowned in 1683 ; the boat in which he was crossing from Burntisland to Leith having been run down by another vessel.—*Fountainhall*, vol. i. p. 504.

by this expresse. Som 8 or 10 soldiers, belonging to Captain Ogilvie's¹ and Captain Balfour's² companys, being gon to the cuntrey, to the parish of Pitene, of purpose (as it seames) to robe, tooke occasion at night to fall out with some cuntrey peopple, who having fled to a house wher ther wes a good strong gaite, which the soldiers not being aible to break open did threaten to burne, and accordingly did actually set fire to it; and ther after not being able to fire it, by reson of the unsufficiency of the materialls without, and the peopples diligence by throwing water upon it from within, they went away, breking open a poor widowe woman's howse, which was near by, taking away 3 peaces of cloath which wer in the howse. This morning I have aprehended 8 of them, and have examined them in presence of 3 of the complainers; and tho' all of them denyed most impudently, yet by faire promises I prevailed with one of them to confes, who hes declared wery ingenously, for which caus I must intercead for him, becaus he hes my promise, and is in efecte D. Oats in the caise. My Lord, the raising of wilfull fir and hamsucken (the house being the mens own who wer invaided,) ar things of that high nature, that your Lo: will easeyly think that nothing was proper for

¹ From an original letter of Lord Ross to the Earl of Linlithgow, in the possession of J. A. Maconochie, Esq., it appears that Captain Ogilvie was of the family of Boyne.

² The Hon. John Balfour of Ferny, second son of John, third Lord Balfour of Burleigh. He afterwards attained to the rank of colonel, and is frequently mentioned by Wodrow as a cruel persecutor. In 1715 he engaged in the rebellion, and was appointed governor of Perth by Lord Marr.—*Wood's Peerage*, vol. i. p. 180. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 511. *Rae's History of the Rebellion*, p. 191, 301.

me bot to lay them in irons, which I have done. I heare many grose things are laid to our charge, bot, belive me, this is the first that hath com to the knowledg of your Lo: most faithfull and humble servant,

ROSSE.¹

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW,
MAJOR-GENERALL TO HIS MAJ^{TIES} FORCES.

Lanerich, 5 May, 1679.

MY LORD,

I sent on of the E. of Homes² troope to Edinburgh on Wensday last, to attend yo^r. Lo: comands ; by ane other of the same troope on Frydaye therafter, I gave yo^r. Lo: ane accompt of a disordr comited by some of our men in the cuntrey ; non of which being yet returned, I doe againe intreat yo^r. Lo: will give ordore consarning the comiters of that abuse. My Lord, upon informatione that a tenant of Cleghorns³ had some of thes new fashioned armes, Halyburton⁴ with 6 of E. Homs troope wer ordored out to seize the man

¹ George, eleventh Lord Ross.

² James, fifth Earl of Home, died in 1687 without issue.

³ James Lockhart of Cleghorn.

⁴ Perhaps the same with Captain Alexander Halyburton, one of those officers confined in the Bass, who in 1691 succeeded in overpowering the garrison and regaining the place for King James. Having been made prisoner in the course of an expedition to the opposite shore, he was tried and convicted of treason in March 1692, and was

and the armes ; the man they got, bot no armes bot a halbart only ; which being done, instead of returning with the prisoner, they put up ther horsses in several stables, and, I belive, fell a drinking ; in which tyme some few peopll fell upon them with forks and the lyke, and hath wounded on of the soldiors most desperatly ill, and really all of them give bot a very ill accompt of themselves in that actione. Haliburtone says, he durst not fire upon them, becaus he had not a remission in his pocket : however, the felow and his halbart ar both heare ; I have spoke with the man ; he is a great rogue, and a young fellow, and does not deny bot he is listed as on who is to defend thes feild conventickls in armes : thes who fell upon the soldiors ar all flead, bot Cleghorn promises me all ther names ; and this is the whole accompt of that affarre ; as to any thing ells, we ar just in the same conditione ye left us. I could learne of no meittings to be yesterday anywher, and therfor sent out no partys, least I should wearye the Kings forces improfitably. By on belonging to Claverus I resaved yo^r. Lo: of the 3d instant ; it is inposible for us to fight with wind, bot if any of thes peopll doe apear, be ther number what it will, we shall aither give ane accompt of them, or they of us ; if Claverus be to have any detachments from this, I expect yo^r. Lo: orдор for it, haveing no warrand for it as yet.

I am ever yo^r. Lo: most faithfull and humble servant,

ROSSE.

sentenced to be hanged. But this sentence was not carried into execution ; for on the surrender of the Bass, it was made one of the articles of capitulation, that all those belonging to the garrison, who had been imprisoned or condemned, should be set at liberty.—*Memoirs of Lord Dundee. Howel's State Trials*, vol. xiii. p. 831.

Dumfries, May the 6, 1679.

MY LORD,

On Saturday's night last, I ordered Captain English, with the garrison of Kilkoubright, to be here on the Sondag morning, which he did. I mounted the foot, and marched with all towards those places where the conventicles had been the Sondag befor, first, to the head of Glenea, wher Vernor¹ had preached, and then to Queensbery

¹ There were two brothers of this name, both of whom rendered themselves obnoxious to the government. Mr Thomas Vernor, or Warner, minister of Balmaclellan, who, on the 20th of October 1669, was convened before the Privy Council, along with his father-in-law, James Grierson of Milmark, and the other heritors of the parish, to answer to a charge of having committed "a horrid insolence" on the person of Mr John Row, the Episcopal incumbent. The parties accused having failed to appear, a fine was imposed upon them of 1200 merks, payable to Mr Row. In 1672, Mr Warner received permission to preach within the parish of Balmaclellan. But on the 6th of January 1679, he was again summoned before the Council, on a charge of preaching beyond his bounds, and keeping company with Mr Welch. Having failed to appear, he was declared an outlaw, and his name was inserted in the fugitive roll for 1682. According to Wodrow, however, he survived the period of persecution, and was alive at the Revolution.—*Wodrow*, v. i. App. p. 73, 137. Vol. ii. p. 4, App. p. 115. Mr Patrick Warner was for some years chaplain at Madras; but having returned to Scotland in 1677, he associated himself with Mr Welch, and frequently preached along with him at field conventicles in Galloway and Carrick. In February 1682, he was apprehended and examined before the Council; but, after a short time, he was liberated, on condition that he banished himself from Scotland.—*Wodrow*, v. ii. p. 243. He returned to this country in 1687, in consequence of a call from the inhabitants of the town of Irvine to undertake the charge of that parish. Before leaving Holland, where he chiefly resided during his exile, he had a curious interview with the Prince of Orange, the particulars of which are detailed by Wodrow, v. ii. p. 624.

hille, wher Arnot¹ and Archibald² had preached, and then to the borders of Craford moor, wher Cameron³ had preached the Sondag befor, and did actually preach that very day, the mater of three myles from the place we was at, thogh we could see no apearance of them in any place we had been, because of the thikness of the fogue. We lost two partys we sent af ; they not fynd us till next morning : they took three tenent men coming from that meeting : I have not had the tyme to examin them strikly, but I hear it was really Cameron preached, and yet it is thoght he would not have waited for us if we had found him out. I must say, that amongst officers and sogers I found a great desyr to be at those rogues ; and I have declared to them that, if ever we meet, they must aither fight in good earnest, or be judged as cowards by a counsell of warre. The dragoons marched that day, without a bait, above fyfty myles, of which there was about fiveteen of horid hilles. My Lord, I have

¹ Mr Samuel Arnot, minister of Tongland. By a proclamation, 6th February 1679, a reward of 3000 merks was offered for his apprehension.—*Wodrow*, v. ii. App. p. 1. He was engaged in the rebellion at Bothwell Bridge ; and was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be hanged, 14th December 1682.—*Howel's State Trials*, v. xi. p. 909.

² There were two Presbyterian ministers of this name, Mr Robert Archibald, minister of Dunscore, and Mr Hugh Archibald, minister of Strathaven. The last is probably the person here referred to, as he appears to have been previously guilty of irregularities.—*Wodrow*, v. i. p. 321.

³ Mr Richard Cameron, the founder of the sect of the Cameronians. He was killed at Airs Moss, 20th July 1680.

received ane order yesterday from your Lordship, which I doe not know how to goe about in a sodain, as your Lordship seems to expect, for I know not what hand to turn too to find those partys that ar in armes. I shall send out to all quarters and establish spays, and shall endeavor to ingadge them Sonday nixt, if it be possible ; and if I gate them not here, I shall goe and visit them in Tiviotdalle or Carak, wher, they say, they dar look honest men in the face. But, my Lord, it had been necessary that the counsell had not only waranted us to give out mony for spays, but also had apointed where we should fynd it ; for, I declare, I had to doe to pay that nights quarters we wer out. In the toun we gate some credit, but, if we march, I must tak free quarters, for I can not pay mony, if I gate non. Sir William Sharp¹ is short of paying us neer six hondred pounds sterling, and has now send billes upon the excyse of the Steuartry for a small pairt of it, yet mor then is dew in either Steuartry or shyr. My Lord, we have now got a locality here with a great deall of difficulty. My Lord Queensbery has been very unkynd to us, and has a mynd to aply himself to the Councel to gate the shyr eased of a pairt of the locality, and for bygons intends no reparation for the poor troopers. My Lord, I bigue that there be nothing done in that without we be heard. My Lord, I hope your Lordship will pardon me that I have not sent in the prisoners that I have here ; there is on of them that has been so tortered with the gravell, it was im-

¹ The brother of Archbishop Sharp, and cash-keeper to the King.

possible to transport him. Beseides, expecting considerable orders, I had no mynd to pairt with 30 or 40 horses ; and then Sondays jorney has a litle gaded our horses. No apearance here of any steer.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

FOR THE EABLE OF LINLITHGOW,
COMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

Falkirk, May the 29, 1679.

MY LORD,

I came here last night with the horse and dragoons and munion in good pass. This morning a shoemaker fyred, out at his wyndow, in at the present baylys (where three of my men where siting at meat and bread,) two bullets with in a foot of them. The rogue flaid imediatly out of toun. Two contry men, after we had brok up his doors and missed him, came and declared they had seen him runing a quarter of a mylle of toun. I send a party after him, who found him lurking in a house. He is otherways a great rogue, and frequents field conventicles, and, they say, taks upon him to exercise. I am certenly informed there is resolution taken amongst the whigues, that aighteen parishes shall meet Sunday nixt in Kilbryd moor with in four myles of Glascow. I resolve, thogh I doe not believe it, to advertise my Lord Rosse, so that with our joint

force we may attaque them. They say the ar to pairt no mor but keep in a body.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.¹

Glasgow, Jun. the 1, 1679.

MY LORD,

Upon Saturday's night, when my Lord Rosse came in to this place, I marched out, and, because of the insolvency that had been done tue nights befor at Ruglen,² I went thither, and inquyred for the names. So soon as I got them, I sent out partys to sease on them, and found not only three of those rogues, but also ane intercomend minister called King.³ We had them at Streyen about six

¹ In a letter from the Privy Council of Scotland to the Duke of Lauderdale, dated 3d June 1679, giving an account of Claverhouse's defeat at Drumclog, reference is made to "his letter, herewith sent, directed to the Major-Generall." There can be little doubt that this is the letter referred to. It is here printed, from the original in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, who very liberally allowed a copy to be taken for the present compilation.

² A number of disaffected persons had assembled at Rutherglen on the 29th of May, and after extinguishing the bonfires which had been kindled in honour of the day, had publicly burned several Acts of Parliament, and affixed to the market-cross a treasonable paper, entitled "The Declaration and Testimony of some of the True Presbyterian Party in Scotland."—*Wodrow*, v. ii. p. 44.

³ Mr John King, chaplain to Lord Cardross. He escaped on this occasion, in conse-

in the morning yesterday, and resolving to convey them to this, I thought that we might mak a little tour to see if we could fall upon a conventicle ; which we did, litle to our advantage ; for, when we came in sight of them, we found them drawen up in batell, upon a most advantagious ground, to which there was no coming, but throug moses and lakes. They wer not preaching, and had gat away all there ²²women and shildring. They consisted of four bataillons of foot, and all well armed with fusils and pitch forks, and three squadrons of horse. We sent both, partys to skirmish, they of foot, and we of dragoons ; they run for it, and sent down a bataillon of foot against them ; we sent threescore of dragoons, who mad them run again shamfully ; but in end, they percaiving that we had the better of them in skirmish, they resolved a generall ingadgment, and immediatly advanced with there foot, the horse folouing ; they came throught the lotche, and the greatest body of all made up against my troupe ; we kepted our fyr till they wer with in ten pace of us ; they recaived our fyr, and advanced to ^{the}shok ; the first they gave us broght down the coronet Mr Crafford, and Captain Bleith,¹ besides

quence of the defeat of the royal party ; but he was again made prisoner after the battle of Bothwell Bridge. On the 24th of July 1679, he was convicted of treason before the Court of Justiciary ; and on the 14th of August, he was hanged, along with Mr Kid, at the Cross of Edinburgh.

¹ James Leckie, who was examined as a witness upon the trial of Robert Hamilton of Preston, 2d April 1683, deponed that he “saw him in Hamiltoune Parke ryding on a gray horse, in armes with the rebels, and commanding in cheiff ; and that the horse he rod on belonged to Captain Blyth, who was killed at Drumclog by the rebels.”

that, with a pitch fork they mad such an opening in my sorre horses belly, that his guts hung out half an elle, and yet he caryed me af an myl ; which so discoroged our men, that they sustined not the shok, but fell into disorder. There horse took the occasion of this, and perseud us so hotly, that we got no tym to rayly. I saved the standarts, but lost on the place about aight or ten men, besides wounded ; but the dragoons lost many mor. They ar not com esily af on the other side, for I sawe severall of them fall befor we cam to the shok. I mad the best retraite the confusion of our people would suffer, and am now laying with my Lord Ross. The toun of Streven drou up, as we was making our retrait, and thoght of a pass to cut us of ; but we took couradge and fell to them, made them run, leaving a dousain on the place. What these rogues will dou yet I know not, but the contry was flocking to them from all hands. This may be counted the begining of the rebellion in my opinion.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordships most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

My Lord, I am so wearied, and so sleapy, that I have wryton this very confusedly.

FOR THE EARLE OF LINLITHGOW.
MAJOR-GENERALL TO HIS MAJESTIES FORCES.

Glasgow, Sunday, 9 a'clock at night.

MY LORD,

After Ensing Achmouty¹ was dispatched, I descovred a party marching to Glasgow, whom we made up to, but found it to be Claverus and Captain Ingills, with the broken troops. Claverus informed me how it went, and, thereafter, we resolved to returne to this place, in reguard they found that the cuntrey wes gathering evry wher to these rogues, and soe concluded that it wes fit to acquaint yo'. Lo: with it, that acordingly ye might order what we shall doe, for, be asured, if they wer ten to one, if ye comand it, we shall be throughe them if we can ; soe I expect yo'. Lo: comands. I know Claverus will give a full acompt of the engadgement, and, therfor, I shall forbear that. My Lord, if this be not a rebelione, I know not what is rebelione. In the meantym, I shall secure, as well as I can, this place. I have ordored the halfe of our party to mount guard this night, foot, horss, and dragouns, and have posted them as well as may, and baricaded all the streits about the Marcat place. This is all can be done by

Yo'. Lo: most fathfull and humble servant,

ROSSE.

¹ Captain William Auchmuty is mentioned among the Scots officers who followed King James to France.—*Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 50—62.

FOR HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.¹

Dudhop, March 27, 1689.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

THE coming of an herald and trumpeter to summon a man to lay down arms, that is living in peace at home, seems to me a very extraordinary thing, and, I suppose, will do so to all that hears of it. While I attended the Convention at Edinburgh, I complained often of many people's being in arms without authority, which was notoriously known to be true, even the wild hill men ; and, no summons to lay down arms under the pain of treason being given them, I thought it unsafe for me to remain longer among them. And because some few of my friends did me the favour to convey me out of the reach of these murderers, and that my Lord Levingston² and several other officers took occasion to come away at the same time,

¹ On the 19th of March 1689, the Meeting of the Estates " being informed that the Viscount of Dundee and the Lord Livingstoun, with several others, are in armes, at or near the toune of Linlithgow, without any warrand from the Estates," they ordained a herald " to charge the saids Viscount of Dundee and Lord Livingstoun to appear befor the Meeting of Estates, within twenty four houres after the charges, under the pain of treason." In answer to the summons, Dundee addressed this letter to the Duke of Hamilton, as the President of the Convention. It is here printed from a copy annexed to a pamphlet, entitled, "*The Case of the present afflicted Clergy in Scotland.*" London, 1690.

² George, the eldest son of George, third Earl of Linlithgow. From an order of the Privy Council, dated 3d June 1687, I perceive that he was at that time " Captain of his Majesties Troop of Guard."

this must be called being in arms. We did not exceed the number allowed by the Meeting of Estates : my Lord Levingstone and I might have had each of us ten ; and four or five officers that were in company might have had a certain number allowed them ; which being, it will be found we exceeded not. I am sure it is far short of the number my Lord Lorne¹ was seen to march with. And, tho I had gone away with some more than ordinary, who can blame me, when designs of murdering me was made appear ? Besides, it is known to every body, that, before we came within sixteen miles of this, my Lord Levingston went off to his brother, my Lord Strathmoir's² house ; and most of the officers, and several of the company, went to their respective homes or relations ; and, if any of them did me the favour to come along with me, must that be called being in arms ? Sure, when your Grace represents this to the Meeting of the States, they will discharge such a groundless pursuit, and think my appearance before them unnecessary. Besides, tho' it were necessary for me to go and attend the Meeting, I cannot come with freedom and safety, because I am informed there are men of war,

¹ Archibald, the eldest son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyle. He retained the title of Lord Lorn after his father's forfeiture in 1681. The honours of the family were restored to him by act of Parliament, in 1690 ; and in 1701, he was created Duke of Argyle.

² Patrick, third Earl of Strathmore. He and Lord Livingstone were both children of Lady Elizabeth Maule, only daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Panmure, who, after the death of her first husband, John, second Earl of Kinghorn, married George, third Earl of Linlithgow.

and foreign troops¹ in the passage ; and, till I know what they are, and what are their orders, the Meeting cannot blame me for not coming. Then, my Lord, seeing the summons has proceeded on a groundless story, I hope the Meeting of States will think it unreasonable, I should leave my wife² in the condition she is in. If there be any body that, notwithstanding of all that is said, think I ought to appear, I beg the favour of a delay till my wife is brought to bed ; and, in the meantime, I will either give security or paroll not to disturb the peace. Seeing this pursuit is so groundless, and so reasonable things offered, and the Meeting composed of prudent men and men of honour, and your Grace presiding in it, I have no reason to fear farther trouble.

I am,

May it please your Grace,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

I beg your Grace will cause read this to the Meeting, because it is all the defence I have made. I sent another to your Grace from Dumblein, with the reasons of my leaving Edinburgh : I know not if it be come to your hands.

¹ This alludes to the forces under General Mackay, which had just arrived in Scotland.

² In 1684 Lord Dundee married Jean Cochrane, daughter of William Lord Cochrane, eldest son of William, first Earl of Dundonald. Shortly after the date of this letter, the lady bore a son, James, who survived his father only a few months, and died in December 1689. Lady Dundee married, secondly, William, third Viscount of Killybeg, to whom she had also one son, who died an infant.

TO OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED COSEN AND
COUNCELLOR, JOHNE LORD VISCONTE OF DUNDEE.¹

JAMES R.

Right trusty and well-beloved cosen and counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas we have been informed by Sir Archbold Kennedy² of your faithful and loyall deportment in this conjuncture, we would not delay any time to send you our royall and most hearty thanks, and to let you know that, by the blessing of Almighty God, wee are come safe to this our kingdome, notwithstanding the malicious designs of our enemies, and that our affairs are in such a condition, by the present posture of this country, and the assistance wee have brought with us, and that which wee have yet coming after us, that wee are not only in a condition to defend this kingdome, but to send you such supplyes as you may judge fitt for our service. Wee have, therefore, resolved to send our commission of Lieutenant Generall to you, to command all such forces as can be raised there, and to command likeways such as wee shall send from this to your assistance, being resolved to come ourself, as soon as it is

¹ The original of this letter is in the possession of Miss Young of Auldbar, the descendant of Robert Young of Auldbar, who married Anne, youngest daughter of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, and sister of Lord Dundee. From the subsequent letter to the Laird of Macleod, it appears that it was not received till the 22d of June, the first copy, which was sent by a person of the name of Breidy, having been intercepted.

² Sir Archibald Kennedy of Cullean, Bart.

possible for us to doe it with safety, and that all the things of our army here (which wee intend to have very numerous) shall be put in order. Wee have thought of sending five thousand men, whereof one hundred horse, and one hundred and fifty dragoons, believing that a greater number of horse and dragoons will be inconvenient to ship over to you, and that you may get some there. Wee desire to know your opinion of this number, and what you propose to us for their subsisting in the country, and that you would let us know where you think fitt wee should land them, with what else you may think convenient for our service.

Wee have sent letters to the chiefs of clans, and to the most of the nobility wee had reason to judge faithful to our interest ; and by the forces we send over, commissions shall be sent blancke, to be filled up at your sight. The officers of our standing army wee will require to attend you by proclamation, and such as are with us wee shall immediately prepare for the journey, as soon as we heare from you. And, as soon as our forces, or any considerable body, can be brought together, wee think fitt that the Nobility and Gentry should call the Bishops and Borroughs, and by our authority call a Convention of States to declare for us, and put the kingdom in a posture of defence. Wee need not tell you the necessity you lye under to defend yourselves. The Presbeterians are not good masters in any government, much less with you, where their particular quarrels are revenged in these publick confusions. But, assure yourselves, we will stand by you ; and, if it shall please God to give success to our just cause, wee will let the ancient Cavalier

party know that they are the only true basis the monarchy can rest upon in Scotland ; and wee have found such effects of our mercy in times past, as will make us now raise our friends, upon the ruine of our ennemys. What may be fitt for you to know more, the bearer will informe you ; only wee think fitt to add that, as it was ever our intention to maintain the national Protestant religion, so now wee will confirm it to our subjects, and their property, and libertie, which, let them fancy to themselves what they will, can never be assured to them by any other means. As for yourself, you may be assured, as your services to us all along have been eminent, soe, when it pleases God to putt it in our power, the reward shall be the same. In the meantime, expecting your answer to these particulars, and what else you think fitt for our service, wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court in Dublin Castle, the 29th of March 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majesties command,

MELFORT.¹

¹ John, first Earl of Melfort, principal Secretary of State for Scotland.

FOR THE LAIRD OF MACLEOD.¹*Moy, Jun. 23, 1689.*

SIR,

GLENGAIRE² gave me an account of the substance of a letter he received from you : I shall only tell you, that if you hasten not to land your men, I am of opinion you will have little occasion to do the King great service ; for if he land in the west of Scotland, you will come too late, as I believe you will think yourself by the news I have to tell you. The Prince of Orange hath written to the Scots Council not to fatigue his troops any more by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the west ; and, accordingly, several of the forces, that were in Perthshire and Angus, are drawn to Edinr. ; and some of M'Kay's³ regiments are marching that way from him : he further informs them that, besides the fifty-

¹ This letter is addressed to John Macleod of Macleod. The original is in the possession of his descendant, the present Laird of Macleod.

² Alexander Macdonald, younger of Glengary. He was included in the doom of forfeiture pronounced against Dundee and his adherents by the Parliament in 1690. Lieutenant John Hay, one of the witnesses who were examined in that process, describes him as "a tall man, somewhat black." James Osburn, another of the witnesses, deposes, "that he saw Macdonald of Glengary joyne with the rebels with fyve or six hundred men in armes." In a bond of association, which was entered into by the Highland Chieftains after the battle of Killiecrankie, Glengary binds himself to furnish 200 men.

³ Robert Mackay of Scaury. He was made a Major-General by King James, in 1685 ; but at the Revolution he joined King William, and was entrusted by him with the command of the forces in Scotland. He was made a Lieutenant-General in 1690, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 3d August 1692.

two sail alraidy in Irland of French men of warr, there are eighty more from Brest, who have fifteen thousand land souldiers aboard, and that he knows not whither they design for England, or Irland. He orders the whole kingdome to be put in ane posture of defence, so that all persons must draw to armes, and take pairty one way or other. There came ane express, some weekes ago, from Londondairy to Duke Hamiltone, telling, if they got not imediat releif, they could hold out no longer. We hear also from Edinr. that they offered to render, if the King wold give any capitulation, which the King refuses, being advised that its necessar to make exemple of them for the terroure of others. Mr Hay,¹ who came hither yesterday from Irland, gives account that, above three weeks ago, he was at the siege, and then hors flesh was sold for sixpence a pound, and for cannon bullets they were shooting lumps of brick wrapped in peuter plates. It is now certainly rendert. Mr Hay saw relief offer to land, but was beat back with great loss. Some of the Freinch fleet hath been seen amongst the islands, and hath taken the two Glasgow frigots.² The King, being thus master by sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed alraidy in the west. He will have litle to oppose

¹ Two brothers of this name, John and George, were employed by King James in carrying on the communication with his friends in Scotland.—*Balcarras's Memoirs*, p. 57, 78.—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, v. i. p. 375.—*Carstares' State Papers*, p. 149.

² Two frigates, which were fitted out at Glasgow, and employed by the Meeting of the Estates to cruise on the west coast of Scotland, under the command of Captain Hamilton of Ladyland, and Captain John Brown in Irvine.

him there, and probably will march towards England ; so that we who are in the graitest readiness will have ado to join him. I have receaved by Mr Hay a commission of Lievtennent General, which miscairied by Breidy. I have also receaved a double of a letter miscairied by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18 of May ; both which are so kind, that I am asham'd to tell. He counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my deutie. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favour, as affer ages shall see what honour and advantage there is, in being loyall. He sayes, in express terms, that his favours shall vy with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of Councell to such councellers here, as shall be joined in the King's service, and given us power, with the rest of his freends, to meet in a Convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock Convention at Edinr., whom he hath declaired traitours, and comanded all his loyall subjects to make warr against them ; in obedience to which, I have called all the clannes. Captain of Glenrannald¹ is near us these severall dayes ; the Laird of Baro² is there

¹ Allan Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald. He was at this time under age, but was attended by Ranald Macdonald of Benbecula, the tutor of Clanranald. James Malcolm, son to the Laird of Balbedie, in his examination before the Parliament, deponed that " he sawe a young lad, called the Captain of Clanranald, in Lochaber, in armes with my Lord Dundee ; and that he hade a durk, and that he dynd several tymes with my Lord Dundee, and that he saw a company of lustie men with him, whom they called his guairds." In the bond of association, Benbecula binds himself to furnish 200 men. The Captain of Clanranald was afterwards killed at the battle of Sherriffmuir.

² R. Macneil of Barra. In the bond of association, his quota of men is fixed at 50.

with his men. I am persuaded Sir Donald¹ is there by this. M^c-Clean² lands in Morven to-morrow certainly. Apen,³ Glenco,⁴ Lochell,⁵ Glengaire, Keppock,⁶ are all raidy. Sir Alex⁷ and Largo⁸ have

¹ Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate. James Malcolm, in his deposition already referred to, states that "he sawe a young gentleman, whom they called young Sir Donald Macdonald of Slait, command a regiment at the feight of Kilichrankie, and that he saw him command the same regiment at Keppoch, and that he wore a red coat." In the bond of association Sir Donald obliges himself to furnish 200 men.

² Sir John Maclean of Dowart and Morven. He is described as "a well favoured young man." In the bond of association he only engages to provide 200 men: but the number of his followers, when he first joined Dundee, is said to have been no less than 600. *Lieut. Colt's Deposition, Acts of Parliament 1690, App. p. 55.*

³ Lieutenant Colt depones, that "he saw a young man who wes said to be Stewart of Appine, and that he had about a hundred and thretty men or therby of his own in armes with him, and join'd the Viscount of Dundee, in ther march from Lochabber to Badenoch, and that they had collours, and wer in good order." *Acts of Parliament 1690, App. p. 55.* In the bond of association Appin binds himself to furnish 100 men.

⁴ Alexander Macdonald or Macean of Glenco, the same person who was afterwards massacred. He joined Dundee with 200 men. From the pillage of the house of Edinglassy, he appropriated to himself a buff coat, which he appears to have constantly worn, for all the witnesses examined before the Parliament describe him by that mark. James Malcolm depones, that "he sawe a man called the Laird of Glencoe in armes with the rebels at Badenoch, Strathspey, and severall other places, and that he had a brasse blunderbush, and a buff coat." *Acts of Parliament 1690, App. p. 58.* In the bond of association Glenco binds himself to furnish 50 men.

⁵ Sir Ewan Cameron of Locheil. He and his son were both out, at the head of 500 men. *Lieut. Colt's Deposition, Acts of Parliament 1690, App. p. 54.* In the bond of association, he obliges himself to furnish 200 men.

⁶ Lieutenant Colt depones, that "he saw Macdonald of Keppoch, with one of his brothers, who both, with about 120 men in armes, followed the Viscount of Dundee from Lochaber to Badenoch, and joined with him there, and continued with him, till he returned to Lochaber; and addes, that the Viscount used to call him Coll. of the Cowes, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way."

been here with there men all this while with me, so that I hope we will go out of Lochaber about thre thousand. Yow may judge what we will gett in Strathharig, Badenock, Athol, Marr, and the Duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyall shires of Bamf, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, Pearth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the north, as the King's army will be of the south. I had almost forgot to tell yow of my Lord Broad Alban,¹ who I suppose now will come to the feelds. Dumbeth, with two hundred hors and eight hundred foot, and said to be endeavouring to join us. My L. Seaforth will be in a few dayes from Irland to rais his men for the King's service. Now, I have layd the whole business befor yow, yow will easily know what is fitt for yow to do. All I shall say further is, to repeat and renew the desyre of my former letter, and assure yow that I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

Yow will receave the King's letter to yow.

Another of the witnesses, James Osburn, describes Keppoch as armed with "a steel targe, a broadsword, and pistol." *Acts of Parliament* 1690, *App.* p. 55, 57. In the bond of association he engages for 100 men.

⁷ Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter. He was appointed Commissary for Argyle by his father, who was bishop of that see. He commanded a regiment in Dundee's army; and in the bond of association engages to furnish 100 men. He was wounded in the attack upon Dunkeld. After the dispersion of the Jacobite forces, he appears to have retired to France, as he is mentioned among the Scotsmen at St Germain in 1691. *Carstares' State Papers*, p. 153.

⁸ Alexander Macdonald of Largo. He appears to have been under age; for the tutor of Largo is mentioned as having been killed at Killcrankie. In the bond of association Largo engages to bring forward 50 men.

¹ John, first Earl of Breadalbane.

² Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth.

all I shall say further is to repeat & renew the desire of my
former letter & assure you that I am Sir

your most
humble servant

you will receive the Kings
letter to you

Dundie

JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the wickedness of our enemies has reduced our affairs to the necessity of requiring the assistance of our good subjects, these are to will and require you, with all your friends and followers, to be ready upon a call to come to our assistance, at such time and place as you shall be appointed. And we do hereby assure you, that what expences you may be at shall be fully reimbursed by us, and that we will stand to our former declarations in favour of the Protestant religion, the liberty and property of our subjects, all which we will fully secure to them ; and that we will reward abundantly such as serve us faithfully, and such as do not their duty as becomes good subjects, we will punish, so as shall terrify others in after times from the like wicked attempts. We expect your ready obedience, and therefore shall send you our commission, with power to you to name your other officers. In the mean time, for what you shall do in obedience to these our royal commands, for raising, arming, and training of men for serving us, and opposing our enemies with your utmost force, these shall be to you and all others a sufficient warrant. And so expecting from your loyalty and fidelity all the assistance you can give us, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court in Dublin Castle, the 29th day of March 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT.

FOR THE EARLE OF MELFORT.¹*Moy in Lochaber, June 27, 1689.*

MY LORD,

I was not a little surprised to find by yours that my name has been made use of for carrying on designs against you. Mr Carleton² is extremely in the wrong, if he says I gave him any commission to the King, or warrant to say any thing to him in my name. Earl Bredalbin³ sent him to me with a credential, which he desired me to burn as soon as I had read it. I had never seen the man in the face before, nor heard of him. He was not two hours in my company ; and when he gave me an account of his pretended business to Ireland, I disliked most of it, as I signified to you by M^cSwyne ;⁴ nor did I give him so much as a line with him that I remember. I leave you to judge if it be probable, that I would intrust myself so far to any, in such circumstances, as to employ him in so nice and dangerous a point as that is, of accusing so great a man, and so much my friend, as you are, to the King. If I had any such design,

¹ This letter, and that which follows it, were printed by Macpherson, from documents contained in the collection of papers which belonged to Mr Nairne, who was Under Secretary of State both to King James II. and his son, from the Revolution to the year 1713.

² He is called Captain Carleton by Lord Balcarras. *Memoirs*, p. 87.

³ John, first Earl of Breadalbane.

⁴ Dennis M^cSwain, " one of the gentlemen of Major-General Graham his troop of horses," presented a petition to the Privy Council, 27th Jan. 1687, claiming a reward of £10 for apprehending a person of the name of Maclean.

I would rather have trusted myself to the King, and written frankly to himself. I will assure you, all my endeavours to lay you aside were only to yourself. I thought myself bound in duty to the King, and friendship to you, not to dissemble to you the circumstances you stand in with the generality of this country, and many in the neighbouring. Your merit and rising fortune has raised envy ; your favour with the King is crime enough with his enemies, and I am feared even with his ambitious friends, which I am sure can never be imagined to be one with me, for I can never have any pretensions in your way. Besides, you have contributed to all the considerable steps of my fortune. But I must tell you that, besides these generals, there are many pretend to have received disobligations from you, and others, no doubt, with design on your employment ; yet the most universal pretext is the great hand you had in carrying on matters of religion, as they say, to the ruin of king and country. I must tell you I heard a great resentment against you for advising the giving the bulls for the bishops, and I am feared they themselves believe it. You know what the Church of England is in England ; and both there and here, they generally say, that the king of himself is not disposed to push matters of religion, or force people to do things they scrupled in conscience ; but that you, to gain favour with these of that religion, had proved and prevailed with him, contrary to his inclination, to do what he did, which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and the monarchy. This being, as I assure you it is, however unjust, the general opinion of these nations, I thought, in prudence, for your own sake as

well as the King's, you would have thought it best to seem to be out of business for a time, that the King's business might go on the smoother, and all pretext be taken away for rebellion ; and this only in case the King find difficulty in his affairs : for I am obliged to tell you, that, if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding of all the foreign aid, a long war. But I think you may come over ; and when you have seen the state of affairs on the place, and spoke with everybody, you may think what will be best for you to do. You desire me to recommend a proper man to be secretary. You know it is hard to do. But, if you really resolve not to seem to meddle, I would, were I you, advise the King to employ one, to be turned out when things altered would not much disoblige, or could have no consequence. But, I think, I have said enough, if not too much, of this.

My Lord, I have given the King, in general, account of things here ; but to you I will be more particular. As to myself, I have sent you it at large. You may by it understand a little of the state of the country. You will see there, when I had a seen advantage, I endeavoured to profit on it, but, on the other hand, shunned to hazard anything, for fear of a ruffle ; for the least of that would have discouraged all. I thought if I could gain time, and keep up a figure of a party without loss, it was my best, till we got assistance, which the enemy got from England every day. I have told the King I had neither commission, money, nor ammunition. My brother-in-law, Albar,¹ and my wife found ways to get credit. For

¹ Robert Young of Auldbar.

my own, nobody durst pay to a traitor. I was extremely surprised when I saw Mr Drummond,¹ the advocate, in Highland habit, come up to Lochaber to me, and gave account that the Queen had sent L.2,000 sterling to London, to be paid to me for the King's service, and that two more was a-coming. I did not think the Queen had known anything of our affairs. I received a very obliging letter from her with Mr Crain;² but I know no way to make a return. However, when the money comes, I shall keep count of it and employ it right. But I am feared it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh. When we came first out, I had but fifty pounds of powder; more I could not get; all the great towns and sea-ports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad-sword. But I wonder above all things that in three months I never heard from you, seeing by Mr Hay, I had so earnestly recommended it to you, and told of this way by Inverlochie; as sure, if you would not have sent expresses, we thought you would at least have hastened the dispatch of these we sent. M'Swyne has now been away near two months, and we know not if the coast be clear or not. However, I have adventured to advise

¹ David Drummond, afterwards Treasurer of the Bank of Scotland. He was the son of Mr John Drummond, minister of Monedy, by Catharine Smyth, relict of John Cowan of Tailortoun. It appears from letters in the possession of the editor, that Mr Drummond did not escape the suspicion of the government. In the beginning of December 1689, he and Cockburn of Langton were apprehended by an order of the Council, and detained, for some time, close prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

² The bearer of King James's letter to the Convention.

Mr Hay to return straight, and not go farther into the country. It would have been impossible for him to get through to Edinburgh ; but there was no need. He came not here until the 22d, and they surrendered on the 13th. It was not Mr Hay's fault he was so long a coming ; for there has been two English men-of-war¹ and the Glasgow frigates among the islands till of late. For the rest of the letters, I undertook to get them delivered. Most of the persons to whom they are directed are either put under bond, or in prison, or gone out of the kingdom. The Advocate² is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief ; and Athol³ is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume,⁴ who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but will be let out on security. Earl Bredalbin keeps close in a strong house he has, and pretends the gout. Earl Errol⁵ stays at home ; so does Aberdeen.⁶ Earl Marshal⁷ is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale⁸ is right, and at home. The bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate.⁹ The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally

¹ The English ships were commanded by Captain Rooke, afterwards Sir George Rooke.

² Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh.

³ John, first Marquis of Atholl.

⁴ Charles, sixth Earl of Home.

⁵ John, eleventh Earl of Errol.

⁶ George, first Earl of Aberdeen.

⁷ George, eighth Earl Marischal.

⁸ Richard, fourth Earl of Lauderdale.

⁹ Arthur Ross, appointed Archbishop of St Andrews, 31st of October 1684.

stand right. Duke Queensberry¹ was present at the Cross, when their new mock King was proclaimed, and, I hear, voted for him, though not for the throne vacant. His brother the Lieutenant General,² some say, is made an earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely, for he swore to me to make amends. Tarbat³ is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel⁴ by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting, the two Dalrymples⁵ and others, against Skelmurly,⁶ Polwart,⁷ Cardross,⁸ Ross,⁹ and others, now joined with that worthy prince, Duke Hamilton.¹⁰ M. Douglas¹¹ is now a great knave, as well as beast ; as is Glencairne ;¹² Morton ;¹³ and Eglinton :¹⁴ and

¹ William, first Duke of Queensberry.

² James Douglas, second son of James, second Earl of Queensberry. He was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General on the 10th of January 1689, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692.

³ George, first Viscount of Tarbat. He was created Earl of Cromarty in 1703.

⁴ Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel.

⁵ The persons here intended are probably Sir John Dalrymple, who, on the death of his father, became second Viscount of Stair, and was afterwards created Earl of Stair, and his brother, Hugh Dalrymple, who was afterwards appointed President of the Court of Session.

⁶ Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorly.

⁷ Sir Patrick Home of Polwart, afterwards created Earl of Marchmont.

⁸ Henry, third Lord Cardross.

⁹ William, twelfth Lord Ross.

¹⁰ Lord William Douglas, son of William, first Marquis of Douglas. He married Anne Duchess of Hamilton, and in 1660 was created Duke of Hamilton for life.

¹¹ James, second Marquis of Douglas.

¹² John, eleventh Earl of Glencairn.

¹³ James, eleventh Earl of Morton.

¹⁴ Alexander, eighth Earl of Eglinton.

even Cassills¹ is gone astray, misled by Gibby.² Panmure³ keeps right, and at home ; so does Strathmore,⁴ Southesk,⁵ and Kinnaird.⁶ Old Airly⁷ is at Edinburgh, under caution ; so is Balcarras⁸ and Dunmore.⁹ Stormont¹⁰ is declared fugitive for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the meantime ; and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The Duke of Gordon,¹¹ they say, wanted nothing for holding out, but hopes of relief. Earl of Dunfermling¹² stays constantly with me, and so does Lord Dunkell,¹³ Pitcur,¹⁴ and many other gentlemen, who really

¹ John, seventh Earl of Cassilis.

² Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. His first wife, Lady Margaret Kennedy, was a sister of the Earl of Cassilis.

³ James, fourth Earl of Panmure.

⁴ Patrick, third Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn.

⁵ Charles, fourth Earl of Southesk.

⁶ George, first Lord Kinnaird.

⁷ James, second Earl of Airly.

⁸ Colin, third Earl of Balcarras.

⁹ Charles, first Earl of Dunmore.

¹⁰ David, fifth Viscount of Stormont.

¹¹ George, first Duke of Gordon. He had been appointed Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh by King James, and for some time refused to give it up to the Convention ; but after a short siege was forced to surrender.

¹² James, fourth Earl of Dunfermline. He married Lady Jane, sister of the Duke of Gordon. He is described as " a middle sized man, weel favoured, and high nosed." *Deposition of Lieut. Nisbet, Acts of Parliament 1690, App. p. 56.*

¹³ James, third Lord Dunkeld. He joined Dundee immediately after the attack upon Perth, and continued with him till his death. His horse was shot under him at the battle of Killiecrankie.

¹⁴ David Halyburton of Pitcur. James Osburn depones, that " he sawe the deceased Halyburtoun of Pitcurre in armes with the Viscount of Dundie at Killicrankie

deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land, there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot, for them, and others that will join. There must be a Commission of Justiciary, to judge all but landed men ; for there should be examples made of some that cannot be judged of by a council of war. They take our people and hang them up, by their new sheriffs, when they find them straggling.

My Lord, I have given my opinion to the King concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochty, about 5000 or 6000, as you have conveniency of boats ; of which as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well ; but rather more ; for had I had horse, for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochty is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuse from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island ; but in this season that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit to the Point of Kintyre, which will soon be done ; and then the King has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet at the neck of

the day of the feight, and several other places ; depons he wes on horseback at Kili-chrankie that day, and sawe him ryding, sometymes on a gray horse wanting ane eye, and other tymes on a bay horse with a whyte face." *Acts of Parliament* 1690, *App.* p. 58. Pitcur was killed at the battle of Killiecrankie ; and was buried by the side of Lord Dundee, in the churchyard of Blair.

Tarbitt the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the passes of Forth to meet the King, where I doubt not but we would be numerous. I have done all I can to make them believe the King will land altogether in the west, on purpose to draw their troops from the north, that we may the easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to every body ; and particularly I sent some proclamations to my Lady Errol,¹ and wrote to her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect I designed ; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness by Murray towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet ; but it is thought he will take the horse and dragoons except a few, and most of the standing forces, which, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the King's landing. Some think Ely a convenient place for landing, because you have choice of what side, and the enemy cannot be on both ; others think the nearer Galloway the better, because the rebels will have far to march before they can trouble you ; others think Kirkcudbright, or thereabouts, because of that sea for ships, and that it is near England. Nobody expects any

¹ John, eleventh Earl of Errol, married Lady Anne Drummond, only daughter of James, third Earl of Perth. Her ladyship was stopped at Colchester in her way to France, with Sir William Wallace, and others, persons who had been engaged in the rebellion in the Highlands. *Carstares' State Papers*, p. 151. She was deeply engaged in all the Jacobite intrigues. *Memoirs of North Britain*, p. 217.

landing here now, because it is thought you will alter the design, it having been discovered ; and to friends and all I give out I do not expect any. So I am extremely of opinion, this would be an extreme proper place, unless you be so strong that you need not care where to land. The truth is, I do not admire their mettle. The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you that P—— O——, as they say, has written to his Scotch council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harassed following me through the hills ; but orders them to draw to the west, where, he says, a great army is to land ; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men-of-war is coming from Brest, with 15,000 men on board. He knows not whether they are designed for England or Ireland. I beg you will send an express before, whatever you do, that I may know how to take my measures ; and, if the express that comes knows nothing, I am sure it shall not be discovered for me. I have told Mr Hay nothing of this proposal, nor no man. If there come any party this way, I beg you send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of M'Kay's going south, and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot ; by which I conclude, certainly they are preparing against the landing in the west. I entreat to hear from you as soon as possible, and am, in the old manner, most sincerely, for all Carleton can say,

My Lord,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

DUNDEE.

By¹ the last information sent by Mr M'Swine, account was given how the Viscount of Dundee parted from Edinburgh ; how he stayed at his own house for above a fortnight after, guarded by a party of 50 horse ; and how, after a party of the Scotch dragoons came over to Dundee, with a party of Mackay's foot, he marched towards Inverness, encouraging all persons to stand out, letting them see by his example, there was no danger in it. The account was also given how he went through Murray, and was come back to Castle Gordon when M'Swine was dispatched. After which he marched to the Cairn of Mounth designing to go near Dundee, encouraged by the promises the Scotch dragoons had sent him that they would declare for the King ; but, by the way having intercepted a messenger of the Master of Forbes² returning from Edinburgh, found, by Mackay's letters, that he was to be at Dundee that night, with 200 foot, and a regiment of English horse ; and they, with the dragoons and the foot that came there before, were to pursue him wherever he went. The Lord Viscount waited at the Cairn of Mounth till Mackay was within eight miles, and then marched back towards Castle

¹ This is evidently the account at large referred to in the preceding letter. Macpherson states that the copy, which he found among the Nairne papers, was indorsed, " News from Scotland with Mr Hay.—Received July 7th, 1689."

² William, eldest son of William eleventh Lord Forbes. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1691. At this time he commanded one of the troops of horse, which had been levied by the order of the meeting of estates.

Gordon, (where the Earl of Dunfermline,¹ with 40 or 50 gentlemen joined him,) and from thence through Murray to Inverness, where he found the Laird of Keppoch at the head of 700 men, the most part volunteers. They plundered M'Intosh's² lands and the neighbourhood; which M'Intosh in a manner deserved, because the Viscount had written twice to him to declare for the King, and had got no return. The Laird of Kilravock³ with 300 men was on one side of Keppoch, and the town of Inverness in arms on the other. The Viscount sent to Kilravock to know his design. He professed loyalty, and so was allowed to guard his country. The magistrates of Inverness came, and informed him that Keppoch had forced them to promise him 4000 merks. My Lord Dundee told them that Keppoch had no warrant from him to be in arms, much less to plunder, but that necessity had forced him out; and told he would give his bond that, at the King's return (since they had not yet declared the Prince of Orange King), they should have their money repaid them. After which he desired Keppoch to march his men with him, and he would go and engage Mackay. But the men, partly the Camerons, said they could not without consent of their master; but the truth was, they were loaded with spoil, and neither they, nor their

¹ The Duke of Gordon being obliged to remain in Edinburgh to defend the Castle, he gave authority to the Earl of Dunfermline, who was his brother-in-law, to raise his vassals. Accordingly Mr Innes, the Duke's "master of horse" with about thirty other gentlemen of the Duke's vassals, placed themselves under Lord Dunfermline's command.—*Pourtrait of True Loyalty, MS.—Advocates' Library.*

² Lauchlan Macintosh of Torcastle.

³ Hugh Ross, or Rose of Kilravock.

leader had anything else in head ; so they went home plundering on the way.

The Viscount marched to Glengairie, and so into Badenoch, where, considering the season was advanced towards the 8th of May, and the grass begun to appear, and having found the disposition of the low countries for the King, and received letters from most of the chiefs of clans of their readiness, and being informed of the substance of brevets, letters, and commissions, and finding that Mackay was endeavouring to raise highlanders and others, for to ruin and suppress the King's faithful subjects, before the estate of his affairs in Ireland would allow him to come to their relief, the said Viscount resolved to appoint a general rendezvous, which accordingly he did, to be the 18th of May, in Lochaber, and acquainted all chiefs of clans ; and, in the meantime, Mackay being at Inverness, he took occasion to slip down through Athol to St Johnston, where he surprised the laird of Blair,¹ seized him, his lieutenant, Pogue² of that ilk, trumpet, standard, and all the troopers that were in the town, with two lieutenants³ of Mackay's, and two or

¹ William Blair of Blair. He married Lady Margaret Hamilton, youngest daughter of William, second Duke of Hamilton.

² Robert Pollock, younger of Pollock. He was created a baronet in 1703. After his capture, the Laird of Ballendalloch took possession of his best horse.—*Acts of Parliament* 1690, *App.* p. 55, 57.

³ Lieutenant James Colt of Colonel Ramsay's regiment, was one of those who were made prisoners at Perth. In his examination before the Parliament, he states " that when he was taken prisoner, he heard the Viscount speak these words, viz.—You take prisoners for the Prince of Orange, and we take prisoners for King James, and there's an end of it."—*Acts of Parliament* 1690, *App.* p. 54.

three officers of the new levies, most of which are sent to an island¹ of the M'Leans, which is said to be like the Bass. After which he went to Dundee, thinking to gain the two troops of Scotch dragoons; but could not prevail, because of Captain Balfour, who commanded them; yet he forced them to leave Dundee, but could do no more, because the town was in rebellion and the streets barricaded. He caused seize the drums and baggage of the Laird of Drum,² and others of the Earl of Marr's³ officers, and chased the lieutenant-colonel, and might have seized whole companies, but was not at the pains; yet frightened and scattered them, so that they have not been heard of since. After which, having seized L.300 of cess and excise, the Lord Viscount took his march through Athol and Rannoch up to Lochaber, to keep the dyet of the rendezvous. Glengairie kept the day punctually with between two and three hundred men (who on all occasions shews himself to be a man of honour, sense, and integrity). Next came a very honest

¹ The island of Cairnburg. It is thus described in the Statistical Account of the parish of Kilninian:—"At the western side of the parish, one of the isles of Treishnish, called Cairnburg, was of old considered by the natives as a place of great strength, and sometimes occupied by a small garrison or party. It is a high rock, of some considerable extent at the top, inaccessible on all sides, excepting by one narrow pass."—*Statistical Account of Scotland*, v. 14, p. 155.

² This must be a mistake; for Alexander Irvine, who was the proprietor of Drum, in 1689, was a person of weak intellect, and was, on that account, set aside from the management of his own affairs. It is probable that the person here intended is David Erskine of Dun, who was one of the commissioners for the county of Forfar, both in the Convention, and in the first Parliament of William and Mary. In 1710, he was appointed one of the Lords of Session, under the title of Lord Dun.

³ Charles, tenth Earl of Mar.

gentleman, the Laird of Morer,¹ commanding all the Captain of Clan Rannald's men on the mainland, near 200. Next came Appin and Glenco, towards 200. Sir Donald M'Donald was expected, but was not ready. M'Lean gave account that he was just coming; and, after having made the Viscount stay six days, Sir Alexander M'Lean, hearing his friends were in difficulties, sailed away to Kintyr, with his men and an hundred of M'Lean's. At the same time M'Lean fell sick. Lochiel came with 600 men. Keppoch with 200. With which the Viscount marched into Badenoch in haste, hearing that Colonel Ramsay² was coming that way, with 700 foot, to join Mackay at Inverness; and, accordingly, Ramsay having marched from Edinburgh to St Johnston, and near 40 miles up towards Ruthven in Badenoch, but, upon different news of my Lord Dundee's coming, went back and fore in the hill a whole night. In the end, he went back in great confusion to St Johnston. Several of his men deserted. The Athol men got together; and, by the prudence of the gentry, with great difficulty, were hindered from falling on them. Ramsay posted to Edinburgh, and got commission of fire and sword against Athol. About this time, account

¹ Macdonald of Morer. He married Marjory, youngest daughter of Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel.

² George Ramsay, son of George, second Earl of Dalhousie. In 1702, he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in Scotland. I find the following notice respecting him, in one of Robert Milne's MS. Collections, which is now in the possession of my friend, Mr Dundas of Arniston:—"Nota. The E. of March and Major-Genll. Ramsay were killed by too much drink given y^m by the Marq. of Annandale, at an entertainment in y^e Cannogate, 9th Sept. 1705, occasioned upon the Court having defeat y^e Country in a vote. Chanr. Ogilvie and severall others was with them."

was brought to Dundee, that Mackay was within four miles of him, with great numbers of Highlanders, Grant's¹ men, M'Intosh's, Balnagown's,² Rae's,³ Strathnaver's,⁴ and Monroe's,⁵ besides the standing troops. On which, he caused draw out all the men, and bid them be gaining towards a very strong ground, and sent out a party immediately to view the enemy, following it himself; having left orders with Lochiel, that the body should not go above half a mile back. However, when he returned, he understood that Mackay had almost no Highlanders, and was not there to fight, but to meet Ramsay. He found that all the troops had marched four miles back. However, he made all haste to march to engage Mackay; but, before he could come to the place, Mackay was so far gone that he could not be overtaken; and, being informed there that Sir Donald and M'Lean were yet to join, thought fit to wait, and, in the meantime, blockt up the castle of Ruthven, where Mackay had put 50 of Grant's men in garrison. After some days, the castle,

¹ Ludovick Grant of Grant. He was appointed sheriff of the county of Inverness by the Meeting of the Estates, in the room of the Earl of Moray, who was alleged to be a "protest Papist."

² David Ross of Balnagowan. On the 8th of May, 1689, the Meeting of Estates granted him a commission for raising a regiment; they also authorised him to seize all suspected persons. On the 18th of May, 1689, he was appointed sheriff of Ross, in the place of the Earl of Seaforth, a "protest Papist."

³ John, second Lord Reay.

⁴ John Lord Strathnaver, eldest son of George, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland. He was authorised by an Act of the Convention, 19th April, 1689, to raise a regiment of 600 men.

⁵ A commission, of the same tenor with Balnagowan's, was granted to Robert, eldest son of Sir John Monro of Fowlis.

wanting provisions, surrendered ; which being burnt, and lost hope of M'Lean, and fear of Ramsay, my Lord resolved to engage Mackay. But, so soon as he heard of the march towards him, he dislodged in the night. The Viscount pursued him four days, and, by an unexpected way, came in sight of him, an hour before the sun set, and pursued them so close, that parties of the Highlanders were within shot of the rear-guard, close to the main body, and dark night came on ; save which, nothing could have saved them, in all human probability. The ground was dangerous, and the march had been long ; so that the Viscount thought not fit to follow further, being within three miles of Strathbogy, a plain country, where the horse and dragoons had too much advantage of the Highlanders. The next morning, hearing M'Kay had marched ten miles before he halted, the Viscount lay still all that day. But, being after informed that Sir James Lesly, with his regiment of foot and another regiment of dragoons, had joined M'Kay, and the officers of the Scotch dragoons having sent to acquaint the Viscount, that there was very bad news come of the Duke of Berwick's being prisoner, and of a party's being beat back that had endeavoured to land in Scotland, and that they were so surrounded with English horse and dragoons, that, if there was any engagement, they could not shun to fight, and, therefore, begged that he would go out of the way for a time, till better news should come : on all which, the Viscount thought fit to return to Badenoch. Most of my Lord Dunfermling's people, save himself (who continued still very fixed,) and the Duke of Gordon's horsemen, being wearied and near their

own houses, went home without leave ; the Highlanders, thinking themselves masters, grew very disorderly, and plundered, without distinction, wherever they came. The Viscount fell sick, which gave boldness to the disorderly, and disheartened others. The first day he marched back, he made a long march. M'Kay sent a party of horse, who seized some of the Duke of Gordon's gentlemen that went off, and some of the plundering stragglers ; but never came in sight of the rear-guard. The next two days, the Viscount did not march six miles in all ; and M'Kay's foot came not within ten miles of his ; but, in the evening of the last day, he sent up a party of 200 horse and dragoons, who, led on by Grant, were brought upon a party of the M'Leans, scattered a mile asunder, seeking meal. The horse came up upon them at the full gallop. Having got some advertisement, about one hundred of them got together ; and, finding themselves on a plain, they run near half a mile, till they gained the foot of a hill, where they stood and fired upon the enemy, who, in the disorder, having killed two or three, and seized their baggage, thought they had nothing to do but knock them all down ; so got above them and surrounded them, which the M'Leans perceiving, threw by their guns, drew their swords, attacked the enemy boldly, killed the English officers¹ that commanded, and eleven more, wounded many, and forced the rest to retire. Night being then come, the scattered M'Leans joined the rest. My Lord Dun-

¹ From another paper published by Macpherson, it appears that Captain Waine was one of the English officers killed on this occasion.—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, p. 368.

dee marching towards them, the next morning early, met Lochbuy¹ and all his party, who had not lost above four of his men, and the baggage, and two old men and boys who were with it. Then the Lord Dundee marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, where he learned that Ramsay had come back, with 1100 foot and 100 horse had passed to Inverness; that my Lord Murray² had come up to Athol, had brought these men together, and saw Ramsay safe through. The next day, the Viscount was further informed, that Ramsay and M'Kay were joined, and marching towards him, and that there was come to St Johnston my Lord Angus's regiment³ and other new troops, and to Dumblain more of that kind, was resolved to go to Rannoch, and strong ground near the low countries; but, finding that the Lochaber men were going away every night, by fortys and fiftys, with droves of cattle, and finding all the rest, loaden with plunder of Grant's land and others, would needs go home, gave way to it, and came into Lochaber with them, dispersed them all to their respective houses, with orders to be ready within a few days, if the enemy pursued, if not, to lay still till further orders: and, in the meantime, sent advertisement to M'Lean, Sir Donald, the Captain of Clan Rannald, and M'Leod, to make ready against the

¹ Hector Maclean, younger of Lochbuy. James Malcolm depones, "That he sawe a gentleman, whom they called the Laird of Lochbuy, ryding on a dun horse, which they said was a dragoon's horse, which he hade gotten in Strathspey."—*Acts of Parliament* 1690, *App.* p. 58.

² The eldest son of the Marquis of Atholl. He was created Earl of Tullibardine in 1695, and Duke of Atholl in 1700.

³ James Earl of Angus, eldest son of James, second Marquis of Douglas, was authorised, by an Act of the Convention, 19th April, 1689, to raise a regiment of 1200 men. This was the origin of the 26th regiment of foot, or Cameronians.

rendezvous, who had not yet come forth. It's believed M'Kay was very glad of the occasion, his horse being extremely wearied, and so retired to Inverness, where, on suspicion of correspondence, he seized eight officers of the Scotch dragoons, and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh, with a guard of 300 English horse. The rest of the horse and dragoons are quartered in the adjacent places for convenience of grass. Ramsay, with 700 foot, is sent to Elgin; who summoned Gordon Castle to surrender; upon which, Mr Dumbar and those that were with him immediately deserted the place. There were several hundred bolls of meal there, as well as at Strathbogie. M'Kay, in the meantime, is causing seize all the meal in the low countries, and gives it to the soldiers' landladies, instead of ready money; for, it is believed, they have not got great abundance of it. My Lord Dundee hath continued in Lochaber, guarded only by 200, commanded by Sir Alexander M'Lean; but, being in the heart of Glengairry and Lochiel's lands, he thinks himself secure enough, though he had not, as he has, the Captain of Clan Rannald with 600 men within ten miles of him, and M'Lean, Sir Donald, and M'Leod, marching towards him; so that he can march with near 4000, or refresh in safety till such time as the state of the affairs of Ireland may allow the King to send forces to his relief; which, if it please God shall fall out, there is all appearance of forming a considerable army, notwithstanding that the people are a little disheartened by the unexpected surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh, which, is said, was only by despair the Duke had of any relief, though he wanted not from my Lord Dundee, by a third hand, all the encouragement he could give.

FOR THE EARLE OF MELFORT.¹

MY LORD,

After Mr Hay was dispatched, I was informed that Achtera² and Major Farcharson were landed, so sent and stopt Mr Hay, and came down here to know what news they brought. I am very glad to hear by your Lordship's that the King's affairs prosper so well, and that Derry will be soon ours. But I hear it was not on Monday last. I know not what the matter is, but I would think Mackay's going south, and the troops drawing back from Kintyre towards Edinburgh, would import some alarm they have got. I have so often written over all that Derry was ours, that now, say what I like, they hardly believe, and when I talk of relief out of Ireland they laugh at it, though, I believe, ere long, they will find it earnest, and then our enemy's confusion will be great. As to the places of landing, I am still of the same mind. For the number, I must leave to the conveniency you have. The only inconveniency of the delay is, that the honest suffer extremely in the low countries in the time, and I dare not go down for want of horse, and in part for fear of plundering all, and so making enemys, having no pay. I wonder you send no ammunition, were it but four or five barrels. For we

¹ Macpherson states, that the copy of this letter, which he found among the Nairne papers, had no date, but was marked on the back, "My Lord Dundee's letter, June 28, 1689."—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 366.

² Macdonald of Auchterraw. James Malcolm depones "that he sawe a man called the Laird of Auchterrawe, who came from Ireland to my Lord Dundie at Lochaber, and who wes sent back to Ireland, and that he wes a grosse man, and hade a blew coat, and that he was in arms."—*Acts of Parliament 1690, App. p. 58.*

have not 20 pound. As to yourself, I have told you freely my opinion, and am still of the same mind. You desire I may tell you your faults. I use to see none in my friends; and for to tell you what others find, when I do not believe them, were to lose time. But I must tell you, many of them who complained of you have carried themselves so, that what they say deserves not much to be noticed. However, they have poisoned the generality with prejudice against you; and England will, I am afraid, be uneasier to you than Scotland. It is the unjustest thing in the world, that not being popular must be an argument to be laid aside by the King. I do really think it were hard for the King to do it; but glorious for you, if once you be convinced that the necessity of the King's affairs requires it, to do it of yourself, and beg it of him; but this only, as I said in my last, in case of great difficulties, and in the way I advised, which I think the King will not refuse you; I mean as to filling up of the place; for the King may have enemies, some by your continuing; but he may put in one who may ruin all, which, I am sure, if he gave it to some that pretends, it would, I am afraid, certainly fall out. I wonder you could have the least thought that I would concert with anybody against you, having parted so good friends. I spoke not to Dunmore¹ since he came from London. I mind not I spoke of you to Bredalbine. I remember, when I was endeavouring to make friends for the King in the country, and in the Convention, many did tell me that there would be no living if you returned; so, when no arguments for you could prevail, I have,

¹ Charles, first Earl of Dunmore.

may be, to smooth them, said that, if all were well, you would be prevailed with not to meddle any more. I would have written letters of encouragement to all the King has written to, from yourself, and assured them of your friendship, and satisfied them of your real designs of living, and letting live, every one in their own way in matters of religion, which would mightily allay, I think, as to Scotland ; and let them see you do favours to Cavaliers and to Protestants, for by some steps that, may be, you was forced to make in favours of these ungrate beasts the Presbyterians, you gave unhappy umbrage to both the other ; but they were fools, for never will they get one whose family, education, and inclination is so cavalier. They long at the King's restoration to have a Lauderdale to destroy Middleton, and poor suffering cavaliers. Let not this be their plague. I am sure you shall be sure of all my endeavours for to bring the minds of people to reason. If you will allow, I will say, that, though you come to see the King once landed, you design not to stay, unless you think that you may embolden your enemys. I give my humble service to my lady,¹ and am,

My Lord,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

DUNDIE.

¹ The Earl of Melfort, after the death of his first wife, married Euphemia, daughter of Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie.

TO OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COSEN AND COUN-
CELLOR, JOHN LORD VISCONTE OF DUNDEE.¹

JAMES R.

Right trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well. The good and acceptable services you have done to us at this time, doe confirme in us the good opinion we always had of your worth and loyallty; for which we, at present, return you our most hearty and royall thanks, and shal, by the assistance of God, hereafter, make you and your family an instance of our royall bounty and favor to such as serve well. Wee doubt not of the continuance of your zeal, and we have sent you one regiment to your assistance, and all the Scotts officers, excepting Buchan² and Walcob³, whom we could not dispencc, till the seige of Derry was over, which is now near done, and so soon as that is over, we shall send them to you with all speed; and shall with all care send, from time to time, to your assistance, tho ther is great difficulty in the passage. But by our Mint, which we are speediely to send to you, you shal be mor fully informed of all things; in the mean time, what commissions we have sent, or

¹ The original of this letter is in the possession of Miss Young of Auldbar. It appears to have been sent with the forces under Colonel Cannon, who joined Lord Dundee about the 13th of July.

² Major-General Buchan. He was sent over to command the forces in Scotland, after the death of Lord Dundee.

³ Colonel Wauchope. He commanded at Cavan in the beginning of the year 1689.—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 172. He is also mentioned among the Scotch officers who were sent over from St Germain to Ireland, in 1691.—*Carstairs' State Papers*, p. 140.

what others we shall send, we leav to you to cancell or suspend as you shall think fitt, having reposd in you the trust of that affair ; and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court in Dublin Castle, 7th of July, 1689, and of our reign the fifth year.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT.

FOR THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

MY LORD,

The concern that many equally interested in us both² has for your Lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regrate in me, to see that the courses you take, tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot, therefore, but wish that you would follow the Duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course ; neither shall your friends, who at this time dare not well

¹ This letter, from John, Lord Strathnaver, who, on his father's death, succeeded to the title of Earl of Sutherland, and Lord Dundee's answer to it, were printed by Sir John Dalrymple in the appendix to his *Annals*, v. ii. p. 2. p. 17, 18. They were communicated to him by Lord Hailes, who probably discovered them among the Sutherland papers. His Lordship states, that there was the following marking on the back of the copy of Lord Strathnaver's letter : " This is the double of a letter to the Viscount of Dundee, written by my desire, the 3d of July, 1689. T. Livingston."—*Hailes' Remarks on the History of Scotland*, ch. 19.

² Lord Strathnaver married Helen, second daughter of William Lord Cochrane, and sister of Lady Dundee.

meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family ; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than,

My Lord, &c.

STRATHNAVER.

Inverness, 3d July, 1689. The contents of this letter were written by my Lord Strathnaver, upon my desire, and by my orders.

T. LIVINGSTON.¹

FOR LORD STRATHNAVER.

Stroan, 15th July, 1689.

MY LORD,

Your Lordships, dated the 3d, I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and ammunition sent from Irland. My Lord, I am extreamly sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness, and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your Lordship I

¹ Sir Thomas Livingston, Bart., Commander-in-chief of King William's forces in the north of Scotland. He was afterwards created Viscount of Teviot.

have had no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you, but delayed till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your Lordship should be so far abused, as to think that there is any shadow of appearance of stability, in this new structure of government these men have framed to themselves ; they made you, I doubt not, believe that Darie was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can assure you, it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you, the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Channel, in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For, as they came alongst, they fell on the two frigates,¹ killed the captains, and seised the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the West, whom I am sorry for, very soon. So, my Lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid among your folks you are not used with, I leave you to

¹ The following account of the capture of the Glasgow frigates is extracted from the *Life of James II.*, written by himself: "The 10th of July, the Scotch officers went on board with a regiment of Irish, in the 3 frigates commanded by Monsieur de Quesne, at Carrickfergus, and the same day meeting with two Scotch privateers belonging to Galloway (Glasgow), one of 14, and the other of 20 guns, with betwixt 80 and 100 men on board each. The fight continued about an hour very obstinate, and some of our Scotch officers were killed: but the two captains of the privateers, Hamilton and Brown, being killed, Monsieur de Quesne became master of them, and putting some of his equipage on board, sent them to Dublin, and pursued his course for Scotland, where he safely landed the forces he had on board."—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 214.

judge if I or you, your family or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge francly, I am no less obliged to your Lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a tyme when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your Lordship or family, at any time you think convenient, you may freely employ me : for, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your well, as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

FOR THE LORD MURRAY.¹

Stroan, July 19, 1689.

MY LORD,

I was very glaid to hear that yow had appoynted a randevous of the Atholl men at Blair, knowing as I doe from your Lordships

¹ This, and the three succeeding letters, addressed by Lord Dundee to Lord Murray, eldest son of John, first Marquis of Atholl, are printed from copies in the possession of the Earl of Leven and Melville, to whose ancestor, George, first Earl of Melville, the originals had been transmitted by Lord Murray, as appears from the following letter.

FOR THE LORD MELVILLE.

Edin. 1st August, 1689.

MY LORD,

I writt to your Lo: about a month agoe, and enclosed a letter I had then receaved from my Lord Dundee, but never had any return ; I send now here inclosed three

oune mouth your principles, and considering your educatione and the loyaltie of your people, I ame persuaded your appearance is in

more I had receaved from him, which are all I have had, and to none of which have I ever returned any answer, neither would I see the gentlemen with whom he sent the last, but caused tell them I woud not convers with them, nor return any answer to my Lord Dundee's letter, but that they might shew him I would not joine with him, to which your Lp. may see he has not been wanting to use all methods and arguments he could devise ; but so far have I been from harking to any thing of that nature, that I can freely say on my honour that I have never taken more pains in any thing then to hinder the Atholl mens joining, which I confess they have been too much inclined to, and were too far ingaged before I medled with them. It is publickly known what effects my first going there had in stoping many hundreds of the Atholl men, who were then ready to join Dundee ; and now about 10 dayes agoe I went the second time, hearing they were like to break out againe, but on my roade receaved a letter from Ballaquhen, who has been above 20 years baily in that country, that he had secured the Castle of Blair for King James ; this piece of treachery did extreemly surprise and irritate me, but made my endeavours in ordering the Atholl men not so effectual as otherwayes they had been, he having so great and long authority in that place. But, for all this, I went straight to require the Castle from him, and on his refusal blockt it up, and sent to get petards from M^rKai to take it by force, which he promised to bring with himself very soon, and desired I might continue where I was till his coming ; so I stayed in the fields about the Castle six dayes, till Fryday last, that I had certain intelligence that Dundee's army was within 16 miles, so I was forced to retire about six miles on this side of Blair, Dundee having encampt that night about 3 miles on the other side of it. I did send about 100 of my men to secure the pass of Gillethranky, which I acquainted M^rKai with, and told him my men should keep it, if he intended to goe that way, till he should send to relieve them ; accordingly he immediatly sent about 150 to that place, on which my men did return to me. About 12 a clock on Saturday M^rKais army marched past the place where I was, with what men I could gett kept with me from joining Dundee, which was but betwixt 3 and 400, many having gone from me the day before to put their goods out of the way, when they heard armies were aproching their country, which I could not possibly hinder them from, their cattell being all their stock and

obedience to his Majesties commands by the letter I sent yow, which is the reasone why I give yow the trouble of this line, desiring that wee may meet, and concert what is fittest to be done for the good of our country and service of our lawfull King. I doubt bot your Lordship knows that it hath pleased his Majestie to give me the command of his forces in this natione till his aryvall, and

riches; before which time I had kept alwayes above 1000 with me. After M^kKai had passed me about 4 miles, he perceaved Dundee marching towards him, which I doubt not but your Lp. has a particular accompt, and how many of M^kKais men deserting him was the true cause of that unfortunate defeat, which so soon as I gott the accompt of, I marched away quite from the road of those that fled, lest the Highlanders, according to their ordinar barbarous custom, should fall to plunder the runaways, which I am since informed many of the country men did as they fled, which I am very vext att, but its what cannot be helped off almost all country people, who are ready to pillage and plunder whenever they can have occasion. My Lord, this is the true state of this affair and of my cariage all along, which I beg your Lp. will represent to his Majestie, that there be no sinistrous constructions put on the service I have done, which some here to excuse their too soon running away, are ready to put off themselves on others. M^kKai, who knows all my carriage in this affair, can testifie what trouble and pains I have been att in hindering the Atholl men from joining Dundee, which he also knows is all could be expected from them, and it was all he desired me to doe. I must also justifie my father so far as to let your Lp. know, as I think I did in my last, that it was my father's positive orders that I should doe all in my power to hinder his men to joine Dundee, which he heard they were inclining to when he went to the bathes for his health, from whence, if he were able to come to look to his own interest and country, it would be a great satisfaction to me to have the trouble of such an affair, in part, off my hands. I hope y^r Lp. will be pleased to let me know you have receaved this. I am your most humble servant,

MURRAY.

And when you have shoven the inclosed to his Ma^{tie} to return y^m to my Lord Selkirk, y^t they may be kept for my vindication.

K

he is forced to putt in my hands many other trusts for want of other persones, many of his loyall subjects being imprisoned, or fled, or out of the way, so as he cannot know their inclinations. Your Lordship is happy that is at liberty, and on the head of so considerable a body of loyall men ; by declairing openly for the liberty of your country, and the lawfull right of your undoubted sovereigne, you may acqyre to yourself and family great honours and rewairds, and the everlasting blissing of Almighty God, which is above all. Yow are wiser then to thinke, tho yow were of other principles, that the Atholl men can be, conterary to their inclinatione, ever induced to fight against their King, no more then D. Hamilton, were he never so loyall, could think to make his Streven and Lishmahaygoe men be for the King, notwithstanding all the power and interest he hes in that country. I see nothing can hinder or scare any persone from serving the King in this occasione, unless it be that they think the people hes right to dethrone the King, and sett up ane other, which I ame sure a man of your sense can never be so fare foold as to believe. To satisfie the people as to their consciences, hes he not given his royall promise, in his declaratione, that he will secure the Protestant religion as by law established, and put them in possessione of all their priviledges they have at any time enjoyed since the restoratione of King Charles the Second, which should satisfie the Episcopall and Caveleer party ? He promises to all other dissenters liberty of conscience, which ought to please the Presbitereans ; and, in generall, he says he will secure our religione in Parliament to the satisfactione of his people. This he

hes in reitterated letters under his hand and seall assured me of, and given me warrant in his name to signifie so much to all his loving subjects. E. of Melfort hes written to me, fully signeifeing his reall intentions to that purpose, which, may be, yow will have more to doe to believe; but, I will assure yow, it is true. His Majestie, in his declarations and his letters to me, as to our liberties and properties, says no less. I ame persuaded every thing will be done to the content of all reasonable men in the next Parliament, which will be, so soon as the King in safety can hold it. Much of this was offered by Brydies¹ letters, but kept up by these, who desyred not that the people should be satisfyed, but were resolved to dethrone their King at any rate, I pray God forgive them. My Lord, if there be any thing more that yow think needfull the King should grant to satisfie his people, I begg you may let me know of it, for he wants advyce, and informatione, as yet, of things and tempers of men here. The indemnitie the King promises by his proclamatione, seems very gracious, and of great extent; nobody is excepted, except such as are come from Holland, who are supposed to be chiefly concerned in this usurpatione, and these who votted to dethrone the King and gett up

¹ The messenger who was intercepted. His name is spelled Bradey in King James's account of his own life. *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 190. It is probable that he is the same with Quartermaster David Brady, who is mentioned as one of the officers who remained firm to King James, when the Duke of St Alban's regiment went over to King William at Honiton. *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 290. "Captain Braedie, formerly Cornet of horse in England," was among the Scotch officers sent over from St Germaines to Ireland, in the beginning of the year 1691. *Carstares' State Papers*, p. 141.

ane other in his place ; for my ounne part, knowing the prosperous conditione the King's affairs were in, I would wonder he is so condescending, considering the great provocations he hes gote, but that he cannot alter the claimant temper that hes ever been found in the family, and hes emienently appeared in his persone. Tho I have no warrant to say any thing further that he will doe that way, in particular, yet, in the generall, I ame desired to get advyce to him from his friends here, to whom the circumstances of persones are better knowne than to them who are beyond sea, how to draw ane indemnety, such as may be exact, and satisfeing to all honest men as to the exceptions. This is not done for want of the opinione of your Lordship, and others of your quality and capacity ; I now desyre it of yow in the King's name, and assure yow that your proposalls, eather, in the generall, for the good of the natione, or in favour of any particular persone, shall be seconded by me with all the little interest I have ; for, knowing yow so well, I need not fear yow will offer any thing unreasonable. Now is the time these things ought to be treatted ; for, if once the King enter on the head of a royall and alreddy victorious army, and insurections appear on all hands, and invasions on every side, there will be no more place for treating, but for fighting. I know ther are many persons of quality, and particularly my L. Marques of Atholl, who is aprehensive of my L. Melfort's ministry, and, for their satisfaction in that point, tho he hes solemnly declaired he will never remember past quarrels, bot enter on a new score, and live well with all the world, I have represented to him how much he hes the misfortune to be misliked,

and, for that reasone, what hurt hes being at the helme may doe to the King's affaires; he asuers me the King will not pairt with him, but, however, that he is resolved to leave him against his will, if he see that his presence is any way prejudiciall, and that with joy, he says, in good earnest, he would resigne his office of Secretarie for Scotland to any honest man, and bids me give him advyce, and this by three different letters, and I know that all I have written to him on that head was seen by the King himself. I ame sure it will be brought about. I know these things some months agoe would have satisfeid all that is good for any thing in this natione. My Lord, consider if it be better to harken to these things in time, which is all we can ask, then let the King enter the conqueist, which in all humane probabiley he will assuredly doe. As I writt now to your Lo: so I have done to all others I can reach with letters. I am sure whatever evill befall the country, the King is innocent, and I have done my deuty. I need tell yow no news; yow know all better then I doe, who dwell in deserts; yet I can tell yow that the Frensh fleet consists of 80 capitall ships, and is at sea with 10 fire-ships and 400 tenders; that the Dutch, who designed against them, are beat back with loss; that the English dare not appeir; that the French have 15,000 of the old troops aboard to land in Ireland or Brittane; that ther are 3000 more campt at Dunkirk, waiting for our King's service; that the King is now maister of all Ireland, and hes ane army of 6000 men in good order rady to transport; that Shomberg knows not where to goe for defence of England, and is not thinking of Ireland for all hes being said. In a letter all written with the King's oune hand, I know we are imediatly to

be releived. The Parliaments of England and Scotland are by the ears, and both nations in a flame. Use the time. I ame, my Lord, your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

From France we are asuered by good hands, that now is the time the King's friends will declair openly, and their fleet is out.

FOR THE LORD MURRAY.

MY LORD,

Since the writing my last, I hear Ballachen¹ hes obeyed the order I gave to possess that Castle of Blair for the King. I hope, since

¹ Patrick Stewart of Ballechin. He received from Lord Dundee a commission in the following terms, authorising him to command the Atholl men.

JOHN VISCOUNT OF DUNDIE, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF HIS MAJ^T FORCES
IN THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND.

Whereas his sacred Majestie King James the Seventh did send commission to the Marquiss of Atholl to rease all his men and followers in y^e countrie, for carrying on his service, and making war against his rebellious subjects, and being disappointed of y^e assistance by the said Marquiss being off the kingdom, and none of his relations taking on them to supply y^e great dutie, wee, by vertew of his Majesties autoritie, taking to consideration your constant loyaltie, and tried courage and conduct, with your forwardness on this occasion for his Majesties service, doe appoint you, Patrick Stewart of Ballickan, to command as collonell all men of Atholl, vassals, or tenants, or neighbours, who have been in use to serve under the Marquiss of Atholl, and hereby requires them, all and every one of them, to receave your orders, and obey you in every thing relating to his Majesties service ; for doing whereof this shall be your sufficient

it was in obedience to the King's authority, you will not blame him. Your Lo: will see that it has pleased God to put me in that condition, that your Lop. or any declairs for the King, will not need to fear ; soe, for God's cause, doe now what you ought.

FOR THE LORD MURRAY.

July 23, 1689.

MY LORD,

Tho ther be no body in the nation so much in my debt as y^r Lo: having writen tyce to yow without any return ; yet, being concerned that yow should have (no) ground of offence that might in the least alienat your inclinations from the King's service, or discourage yow from joyning with us his faithfull servants, I have thought fitt to venture this line more to yow, to let yow know that it was no distrust of your Lop. made me take possession of the Castle of Blair, but that I heard the rebells designed to require yow to deliver it up to them, which would have forced yow to declare before the time I thought yow designed. I thought it would oblige

warrant. Wee do also declare that a commission of collonel signed by his Majestie shall be sent to you, as it can come, it being already sent for.

Given at our (quarters) at Stroan, July the twenty one, 1689,

DUNDIE.

The copy from which this commission is printed, is indorsed, " For the Laird of Ashintully, to be intimat to all his vassals and tenants."

yow, to save yow from that lotche of either delivering up, or declairing ; and for Ballachen, knowing him to be very loyall, I forced him to it, by requyring him in the King's name to do it. If, after all I have said in my former letters and this, I gette no return, my Lord, I most acknowledge I will be very sorry for your saike, for I am very sincerely, my Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

My Lord, upon my word of honour, I can assure yow Derry was taken this day 8 dayes¹ ; they gote their lives. There are 20 French frigatts at Carrickfergus, and 2000 men to transport from thence ; 3 saill are at Dublin, the rest comes from thence ; the great fleet is at sea. I have assurance of all the north. The great army is from Dublin. I believe this week the west will see strangers.

FOR THE LORD MURRAY.

July 25, 1689.

MY LORD,

I have written often to your Lop. and not only desired yow to declare for the King, but endeavoured by reasons to convince yow

¹ An offer of capitulation was made by the citizens of Londonderry on the 11th of July, which may have given rise to a report that the town was actually taken. *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 214.

that now is the proper time, which the state of affairs may easily show yow ; to all which I have never had any return from yow, by word nor writ, tho I can tell yow there is none of the nation has used me so, and I have tryed all that have not already joyned Major Gen. Mackay, on this said Tay, who have any command of men ; yet, that I may leave nothing untryed that may free me from blame of what may fall out, I have sent these gentlemen¹ to wait on your Lo: and receive your positive answer ; for you know, my Lord, what it is to be in arms without the King's authoritie. Yow may have the honour of the whole turn of the King's affairs ; for, I assure yow, in all humane probability, turn it will. Ther is nobody that is more a weelwisher of your father and family, nor desires more to continue, as I am, my Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE'S SPEECH TO HIS ARMY BEFORE
THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE.²

GENTLEMEN,

You are come hither this day to fight, and that in the best of

¹ It appears from Lord Balcarras' Memoirs, that the persons employed in this unsuccessful mission were Major William Graham of Boquhaple, and Captain Ramsay.—*Balcarras' Memoirs*, p. 100.

² This speech was printed by Macpherson from a copy found among the Nairne papers.—*Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 371. I can hardly believe that it ever was delivered, but it appears curious as a cotemporary forgery.

causes : for it is the battle of your King, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion ; and having, therefore, so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage to maintain it. For there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason ; nor should be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your King, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotchmen : and let us, by this action, redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen ; in which, I ask nothing of you, that you shall not see me do before you ; and, if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying in our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience : and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious King, and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word : King James and the Church of Scotland, which God long preserve.

FOR HIS MAJESTY THE KING.¹

SIR,

It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which 3-4ths of them are fallen under the weight of our

¹ This letter was printed by Macpherson, from a document said to have been discovered among the Nairne papers. *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 372. As it has hitherto been received as genuine, I have admitted it into this collection ; yet I must own that I entertain great doubts with respect to its authenticity. Independently

swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command it ; but of 5000 men, which was the best computation

of the negative evidence, afforded by the silence of all the cotemporary writers as to the existence of such a document, and particularly by that of King James, to whom it is addressed, and to whom, if it had reached Mr Nairne, it must have been communicated, there appears to me to be positive evidence of its falsehood, as Dundee is proved to have died upon the field, immediately after he received his wound. King James, in the history of his own life, says, that Lord Dundee, "when crossing over the plaine to give some orders on the left, where the enemy made the most opposition, was most unfortunately *killed* by a random shot." *Clarke's Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 352. Father Hay, who was also a cotemporary, and who describes Lord Dundee as his "particular friend," expresses himself in terms exactly similar. He says that "the late Viscount of Dundee was *killd* at Killicranky, in the beginning of that famed battle." *Hay's Collections*, vol. ii. p. 55, MS. Advocates' Library. Craufurd, in his *Peerage*, which was published in 1716, states, that "his Lordship received a shot of a musket-ball in his right side, of which he instantly expired," p. 117. Lord Balcarras, although he does not expressly say that Dundee died on the spot where he fell, affirms that his body was stripped there ; and it can hardly be supposed that this would have been done, had he been still alive. His words are, "Next day after the fight, an officer riding by the place where my Lord Dundee fell, found lying there a bundle of papers and commissions which he had about him ; those who stripped him thought them but of small concern, that they left them there lying." *Memoirs*, p. 108. My friend, Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe, has communicated to me a curious MS. note upon this passage, which occurs in a copy of Lord Balcarras' *Memoirs*, in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, and which, although it contradicts his Lordship's statement relative to the discovery of the papers, affords additional evidence in support of the opinion that Dundee was killed upon the field. "N. B. I spoke with some that were at that fight, and saw the V. of Dundee's corps naked upon the ground, and was of the number that wrapt it in a pladd, and brought it off the field to the Blair of Athole ; they said they saw no papers, nor was there any such rumor amongst them ; so that I suspect this passage was not in Balcarras' originall narrative, but interpolated by the gentleman that first brought it from France, who, they said, was Cockburn of Ormiston, Justice Clerk at that time."

I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above 1200 men. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and the enemy's baggage, which I gave to the soldiers, who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, and Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies, and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your Majesty the kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurances of it, except the notorious rebels. Therefore, sir, for God's sake assist us, though it be with such another detachment of

The depositions of the witnesses who were examined before the Parliament, in the process of treason, seem also to confirm the notion that Dundee died immediately after he received his wound, and that he was not carried from the field alive. James Osburne depones, "That he saw the Viscount of Dundee at the fight of Kelachranky, and saw a dead body which was said to be the Viscount's body, wrappd up in a pair of Highland plaids after the said feight." James Malcolm, son to the Laird of Balbedie, depones, "That he sawe the said late Viscount of Dundie lyeing dead of the wounds he received that day in the feight." Lieutenant John Nisbet depones, "That when the deponent was prisoner at the Castle of Blair in Athole, after the feight at Kella-chranky, several persons cam to the room wher the deponent was, and said that the said Viscount's body was interred; and remembers particularlie that one, named Johnstoun, told the deponent that he had caught the Viscount as he fell from his horse, after his being shot at the said fight, the Viscount then asking the said Johnstoun, How the day went? and that he answered, The day went weel for the King (meaning King James,) bot that he wes sory for his Lordship: and that the Viscount replyd, It wes the less mater for him, seeing the day went weel for his master."—*Acts of Parliament 1690, Append. p. 56, 57, 58.*

your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons, and you will crown our beginnings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die,

I am sincerely yours,

DUNDIE.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

LETTER FROM JAMES, THIRD MARQUIS OF MONTROSE, TO JOHN GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE.

SIR,

You cannot imagine how overjoyed I should be to have any employment att my disposal that wer worthy of your acceptance, nor how much I am ashamed to offer you anything so far below your merit as that of being my Lieutenant, tho' I be fully perswaded that it will be a step to a much more considerable imployment, and will give you occasion to confirm the Duke in the just and good opinion which, I do name you, he has of you, he being a person that judges not of peoples worth by the rank they are in. I do not know after all this in what termes, nor with what confidence, I can express my desyr to have you accept of this mean and inconsiderable offer, whither by endeavouring to magnifie it all I can, and telling you that it is the first troupe of the D. of York's regiment, that I am to raise it in Scotland, and that I pretend that nom but gentlemen should rid in it, or by telling you that I am promised to be very quickly advanced, and that you shall either succeed to me, or share with me in my advancement. I can say no mor, but that you will oblige me in it beyond expression. I do not expect any answer to this whill I am here, for I do resolve to be at Edinburgh against the 1st or 2d day of the next moneth, where, if you be not already, I earnestly intreat you would be pleased to meet,

Sir,

Your most affectionat cousin and servant,

MONTROSE.

London, Feb. 19,

For the Laird of Claverhouse.

APPENDIX.

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Sir,

Your most affectionat cousin and servant,

MONTROSE.

London, Feb. 19,

For the Laird of Claverhous.

No. II.

CONTRACT MATRIMONIAL
BETWIXT COLLONELL JOHN GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE
AND LADY JEANE COCHRANE. 1684.

ATT Paisley the ninth day of June ane thousand six hundred and eightie four years, it is appointed, agreed, and finally ended and contracted betwixt the right honorable parties following, to wit, Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse one the ane part, ane noble ladie, Ladie Jean Cochrane, lawfull daughter to the deceast Wm. Lord Cochrane, with the specialle advyce and consent of an noble Earl, Wm. Earle of Dundonnald, Lord Cochrane of Paislie and Ochilttrie, her guidsir, and of John, now Lord Cochrane, her brother, and the said Wm. Earle of Dundonnald, and John Lord Cochrane, for themselves, with consent of the said noble ladie on the other part, in maner following : That is to say, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse hes accepted, and hierby accepts, the said noble ladie, Ladie Jean Cochrane, to be his lawfull spouse ; likas the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, with consent foressaid of the said Wm. Earle of Dundonnald, her said guidsir, and John Lord Cochrane, her said brother, hes accepted, and hierby accepts, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse to be her lawfull husband : And aither of them, with consent foressaid, faithfully promis and bind and oblidge them to solemniz at, and compleit the holy band of marriage with others, betwixt and the day of next to come. In contemplatione of the which marriage, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse faithfully binds and obliges him, his airs and suceszores whatsomevere, duellie, valeably, and sufficiently, to infest and sease the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, his future spouse, in her pure virginitie, before the solemnizatione of the said marriage, in liferent during all the dayes of her lyfytyme in all and heall the toure fortalice and maner place of Glen, with houses, biggings, yeards, and orchyeards thereof : And also in all and heall ane yeerlie duetie or annuitie of ffyve thousand merks Scots money yerlie, to be uplifted and taken be her frie of all cess, mentinance, suplie in lack of excyse, levies, or other publick burthens or impositiones whatsomever, at two terms in the year, Whitsonday and Mertimes, be equall portiones, ffurth of all and heall the lands, barronies, teinds, and others underwritten, viz. The lands and barronie of Ogilvie, comonlie called the

Glen of Ogilvie, lying within the parochine of Glames, and sheriffdome of Forfar : All and heall the lands of Gotterstowne, with houses, biggings, yeards, tofts, crofts, and heall pairts, pendicles, and pertinents of the samen, lying in the barrony of Dundie, and sheriffdome of Forfar forsaide : All and heall the lands of Claypots, with the towne, fortalice, and maner place of the samen : The lands of Northferene, the fishing upone the samen, and heall pertinents of the saids lands lying within the barronie, and sheriffdome foresaid : All and heall the house of Dudhope, with the garden, orchyeard, park, and planting adjacent thereto ; and the office of Constabulary of Dundie, and all others jurisdictiones, priviledges, and superiories ; and, particularly, the rights and priviledges and emoluments of the first fair within the towne of Dundie, and all others rights, profits, and emoluments therein : All and heall the lands of Ballargus, and Claverhouse, with the corne milne of the samen, and mure of Ballargus, as it lyes between the lands of Ballmuree, and Ballargus : All and heall the lands of Myretone, and ane yeerlie annual rent of ten marks Scots money, to be uplifted and taken furth of the lands of Kirk-towne Earle Strathdichtie, with the pertinents, lying within the regality of Kerriemuir, and sheriffdome forsaide, all erect and incorporat in ane frie tennendrie, called the tennendrie of Claverhouse : And all and heall the half of all and heall the lands of Easter Broughtone, lying within the regality of Kerriemuir, and sheriffdome forsaide : All and haill that half of the lands of Broughtone Wester : All and heall that half of the third part of all and heall the lands of Monefieth, lying within the said regality, and sheriffdome forsaide : All and heall the lands of Polkello, Polcambock, and Polcask : The towne and lands of Tealling, Balgray, and Shiellhill, with the milne of Tealling, milne lands, multure, and sequell thereof, lying within the parochine of Tealling, and sheriffdome of Forfar : All and heall the lands of Polgavie, lying within the sheriffdome of Pearth : The four pairt, and equall half of the lands of Balkells : The lands of Ballumy, with the milne, milne lands, multures, and sequells thereof, lying within the barrony of Dudhope, and sheriffdome of Forfar forsaide : The lands of Warieston : The lands of the milne towne of Craige : With the maner places, houses, biggings, yeards, orchyards, milnes, milne lands, multures, woods, fishings, mosses, muires, meadows, *annexis, connexis*, dependences, tennants, tennendries, service of frie tennents, pairts, pendicles, and pertinents of the lands, barronies, and others above written ; with the teyndis also weell great as small, both personage and viccaradge, of the heall lands, barronies, and others fersaids, with the pertinents, sua far, of the saids teyndis, as the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse hes right to himself : Or furth of anie pairt or portione of the lands, barro-nies, teinds, and others fersaids, readiest maills, fermes, profits, and dueties of the

same ; With this speciall provisione and conditione, likas it is hierby specially provyded and agreed upone, that if the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse shall depairt this lyfe before the said Ladie Jean Cochrane without children of the said marriage then one lyfe, that it shall be in the will and optione of the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, aither to live at the said house of Glen, and to uplift her said yearly annuity thereat, or to live at any place else where she pleases ; and, if the said Lady Jean Cochrane shall not think fit to live at the said house of Glen, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse binds and obliges him and his forsaides to pay to her, or anie having her order or warrant, her said yeerly annuity within the brugh of Edinbrugh, yeerlie, and termly, at the terms above specified, during all the dayes of her lyfetime : And that be double charters and infestments, the ane thereof to be holden of the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse and his forsaides, or frae him and them of ther immediat lawfull superiores off the lands, barronies, teyndes, and others forsaides, both in frie blensh ferme, for the yeerly payment of ane Scots pennie, att the feast of Whitsunday, in name of blench ferme, if the samen bees asked allenerlie : And that either by resignatione, or confirmatione, as shall be thought most expedient, and to make, grant, subscryve, and delyver, to the said Ladie Jean Cochrane lyfrent charters, precepts, procuratories of resignatione, and others wryts requisit and necessar for that effect, containing warrandice in maner after specifiet ; the said wryts being alwayes made and formed, and the saids infestments past and exped, and the superiores confirmatione and consent purchast and procured, be the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse and his forsaides, upon their owne proper charges and expenses ; And for the better effectuating of the said infestment be resignatione, the said Collonell John Graham of Claverhouse hes made, constitut, and ordained, and be the tenor hierof, makes, constituts, and ordaines

and ilk ane of them, conjunctlie

and severallie, his verrie lawfull, undoubted, and irrevocable procurators, actors, factors, and speciall messengers, to the effect efter specefet, giving, granting, and committing to them, and ilk ane of them, conjunctlie and severallie, as said is, his verrie lafull, frie, and plain power, expres bidding, mandament, and charge, for him, and in his name, to compear before his immediat lafull superiores of the foresaid lands, barronies, teyndes, and others abovewryten, their airs and successors, or before their commissioners, having power and warrant from them to receive resignationes of lands and others holden of them, and to grant new infestments therupone, at whatsomever tyme and place convenient, and ther, with all due reverence and humility, as becomes, purelie and simply, lee staf and bastowne, as use is, to resigne,

surrender, upgive, and overgive: Likas, the said Collonel John Graham of Claverhouse, be the tennor hereof, resignes, surrenders, upgives, and overgives all and heall the said toure, fortalice, and maner-place of Glen, with houses, biggings, yeards, and and orchyeards thereof, with and under the conditione and provisiōne always above specifiet; and also the forsaid yeerly duetie or annuity of ffyve thousand merks Scots money, to be uplifted and taken at the saids two terms in the yeer, Whitsunday and Mertimes, be equall pōrtiones, frie of all cess, mantinance, suplie, inlaik of excyse, levies, or other publick burthens, or impositiones whatsomever, ffurth of all and heall the lands, barronies, tennendries, and others abovewritten, with all and sundrie castles, toures, fortalices, manere places, houses, biggings, yeards, orchyeards, mosses, muires, meadows, milnes, milne lands, multures and sequells of the samen, woods, fishings, *annexis, connexis*, dependences, tennents, tennendries, service of frie tennents, pairts, pendicles, and pertinents of the samen, lying as said is, with the teynd personage and viccaradge of the samen, sua far as the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse hes right to the said teynd himself; in the hands off the said Collonell John Grahame his immediat lawfull superiores of the said lands, or in the hands of ther said commissioners, or others having power and warrant from them, as said is; in favores, and for new infetment of the samen to be made and granted to the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, his future spouse, in lyfrent, during all the dayes of her lyfityme; Acts, instruments, and documents therupone needfull to ask, use, and raise, and, generally, all and sundrie other things necessar and requisit concerning the premisses, to doe, use, and exerce siklyke, and also freele, in all respects, as the said Collonell John Grahame might have done himself, if he were personally present, promitten *de rato*, &c. Whilks lyfrent infetment, resignatione, and right abovewritten, with the foresaid house of Glen, and the said yeerly duetie, or annuity, frie of all cess, maintenance, inlaik of excyse, levies, or other publick burthens or impositions quatsomever, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhous ffaithfully binds and oblidges him and his foresaids to warrand to the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, his future spouse, to be frie, saife, and sure to her, at all hands quatsomever, and against all deadly, as law will: Likas, the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, with consent forsaid of the said Wm. Earle of Dundonnald, her said guidsir, and the said John Lord Cochrane, her said brother, hes accepted, and hereby accepts, in full contentatione and satisfacione to her of all farther provisiōne, lifrent, tearce, or thrid, also weeel of moveables, as that which is heretable, that she may anywayes ask, clame, or crave, be and thorow the deceass of the said Collonell

John Grahame of Claverhouse, her future husband, or which her executors, or nearest of kin can ask and claime be and thorow her decease ; except allenerly the proportione falling to the said Ladie Jean Cochrane of the moveable insight and plenishing of the said Collonell John Grahame his dwelling-house, wherunto the said noble ladie shall have right, and which the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse binds and oblidges him and his forsaid to warrand to be frie to her frae all debts and burthens of the said Collonell John Grahame, wherwith the samen may be any wayes affected or burthened any maner of way : And farder, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse binds and oblidges him and his forsaid, not only to provyde the fie of the heall lands, barronies, teyndes, and others forsaid, out of which the forsaid yeerly annuity is to be uplifted, but also all other lands, barronies, teyndes, and others forsaid, that shall happen him to conquest and acqyre during the standing of the said marriage, to the airs maill lawfully to be procreat betwixt him and the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, his future spouse, whilk falzing to the airs maill lawfully to be gotten be him of anie other mariage, quhilks falzing to the eldest aire femaill lafully to be procreat betwixt him and the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, but divisione, she alwayes marieng ane gentleman of the name of Grahame, att liest who and ther airs shall be holden and obliet to assume the said name, and shall weer and bear the armes of the family of Claverhouse ; and that, be advyce and consent of the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse, her father, he being one lyfe ; and, falzing of him be deceas, be advice of such frinds as he shall at any tyme in his owne lyfytyme nominat and appoynt, otherwayes, the daughter sua marieng, without fulfilling the conditione forsaid, shall amit the benefit of successione to the said estate, and the samen shall fall and belong to the next daughter of the said mariage fulfilling the conditione forsaid ; and, sua furth, falzing of the fulfilling of the said conditione be ane daughter, alwayes to the next daughter who shall fulfill the samen ; whilks falzing, to the said Collonell John Grahame, his airs maill quhatsomever ; whilks all falzing, to his airs and assignayes quhatsomever : Moreover, if ther shall be noe airs maill of this mariage procreat betwixt him and the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, but only daughters, and that the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse shall have airs maill of ane other mariage who shall succeed to the said estate, sua that the airs femaill of this mariage with the said Ladie Jean Cochrane be therby secluded frae successione to the said estate, then, and in that case, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse binds and oblidges him, and his other airs not procreat of this mariage, who shall succeed to his said estate in maner forsaid, to pay

to the daughters to be procreat of this mariage the portiones and provisiones following, viz. if ther be but one daughter, the sowme of twentie thousand pounds Scots money ; if ther be two daughters, the sowme of ffourtie thousand merks money, whereof to the eldest twentie thowsand merks, and to the second twenty thowsand merks ; and, if ther be three or more daughters, the sowme of ffiftie thowsand merks money, whereof to the eldest twentie thowsand merks, and the remander, being thretie thowsand merks, to be equallie devyded amongst the rest at ther respective ages of ffyfteen yeers compleat ; and in the mean tyme to maintaine and educat them conforme to ther rank and qualitie. And, one the other part, the said Wm. Earle of Dundonnald hes presently payed and delivered to the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse, for, and in name of tocher, with the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, his oye, the sowme of ffourtie thowsand merks money forsaid, wherof the said Collonell John Grahame grants the recept, and holds him weell content, satisfied, and payed, renouncing all exceptiones and objectiones that can or may be proponed or alledged in the contrair ; which sowme of ffourtie thowsand merks of tocher above specifiet the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse, with the speciall advyce and consent of the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, his future spouse, and the said Collonell John Grahame for himself, with her consent, and they both with one consent and assent, and the said Collonell John Grahame takeing burthen in and upone himself for his said future spouse, hath accepted, and hierby accepts, in full contentatione and satisfacione to them of all portione naturall, bairnes part of geare, executorie, moveables, or any other thing quhatsoever, which she may any wayes ask, clame, or crave, be and throw the deceass of the said Wm. Earle of Dundonnald or his ladie, her goodsire and goodam, or be and throw the deceass of umquhill Wm. Lord Cochrane her father, or be vertew of any bonds of prouision granted be them or anie of them to the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, or anie other maner of way quhatsoever : and, therfor, the said Ladie Jean Cochrane, with consent of her said future husband, and he, for himself, with her consent, and takeing burthen in and upon him for her, as said is, doe hierby exonner, quit clame, and simpliciter discharge the said Wm. Earle of Dundonnald and his ladie, ther airs, executors, and successores, and the airs, executors, and successores of the said Wm. Lord Cochrane, her father, and all others whom it effiers, of the samen for now and ever ; and both, with one consent and assent, as said is, binds and oblidges them to warrand this present discharge to be good, valid, and sufficient in the self, at all hands, and against all deadly, as law will : And, last, it is hierby declared that executione shall pas hierupone, at the instance of the said

Wm. Earl of Dundonnald and John Lord Cochrane, or either of them, or their aires, against the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse, for fulfilling this present contract, in the heall heids therof conceived in favors of the said Ladie Jeane Cochrane, and the aires, and daughters of the marriage. And, farder, to the effect that the said Ladie Jeane Cochrane may be infeft in her lyfrent provisione above written, the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse hes made, constitut, and ordanit, and he be thir presents constituts and ordanes

and ilk ane of them, conjunctlie, and severallie, his bailzies in that part, be this his precept specially constitut, charging and requyring them, or any of them, that, incontinent thir presents seen, they pas, and give, and deliver lyfrent state and sasine, real, actwall, and corporall possession of all and heall the said toure, fortalice, and maner place of Glen, with houses, biggings, yeards, and orchyeards thereof, with and under the provisione alwayes as specifiet : and also the forsaid yeerly duetie or annuity of ffyve thousand merks money, to be uplifted and taken at the saids two termes in the yeer, Whitsunday and Mertimes, be equal portiones, frie of all cess, mantinance, supplies, inlaik of excyse, levies, or other publick burdeens or impositiones quhatsomever, ffurth of all and heall the lands, barronie, tennendrie, and others abovewritten, with all and sundrie castles, toures, fortalices, manere places, houses, biggings, yeards, orchyeards, mosses, muires, meadowes, milnes, milne-lands, maultures and sequells of the samen, woods, fishings, *annexis, connexis*, dependences, tennents, *tennendries*, service of frie tennents, parts, pendicles, and pertinents of the samen, lyand as said is, with the teyndes, personadge and viccaradge, of the heall lands, barronies, and others forsaid, with the pertinents, sua far, of the saids teyndes as the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse hes right to himself; to the said Ladie Jean Cochrane in lyfrent, during all the dayes of her lyf-tyme, or to her certane acturnay in her name, bearer hierof, be deliverance of earth and stone of the saids lands, ane rip of corne, and ane penny money, as use is, at the said toure, fortalice, and maner place of Glen, or upone the grownd of the saids lands, barronies, and others forsaid, or any part of the samen, which is heirby declared sufficient for the heall, to be holden either of the said Collonell John Grahame of Claverhouse, his aires and successores, or of his immediat lawfull superiores of the samen and ther forsaid, in forme and maner above mentioned : and this, on no ways, the saids bailzies are to leave undone, ffor doing quherof thir presents shall be to them, or anie of them, ane sufficient warrand. And, for the more secouritie, both the saids parties are content, and consent thir presents be insert, and registered in the books of Cownsell and Sessione,

~~Elizabeth~~ ~~John~~ ~~Cochrane~~

Colm Kennedy with

John Cochrane with
Helen Cochrane with

Graham
John Cochrane
Donald
Cochrane

CONTRACT MATRIMONIAL
Between
Col. John Graham
OF CLAYHOUSE
and
LADY JEANIE COCHRANE
1884.

Rosebury

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or in the books of any other Judicatorie competent, to have the strenth of ane decree interponed hierto, that horning on six dayes, and others necessar may pass heirone ; and constituta their procurators, &c. ; In witness quherof, writen be Alexander Scrymsour, servitor to John Cunynghame of Enterkine, writer to his Majesties Signet, both the saids parties have subscribed thir presents with ther hands, place, day, moneth and year of God above written, before thir witnesses, Alexander, Lord Montgomerie, William, Lord Rosse, William Cochrane, younger of Ochilttrie, Mr Collein M'Kenzie, advocatt, one of the Commissars of Edinburgh, Mr John Cochrane, Collector of Cesse in Renfrew, scryve, inserter of the date and witnesses names, and William Cochrane, servant to the said Earle of Dundonald.

(Signed)

J. GRAHAME.

JEAN COCHRANE.

DUNDONALD.

COCHRANE.

EUPHAME SCOTT, conseint.

COLIN M'KENZIE, witness.

JOⁿ COCHRANE, witness.

ROSSE, witness.

WILLIAM COCHRANE, witness.

No. III.

LETTER FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND
TO COLONEL GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE.

SIR,—The Lord Comissioner shewd your letter. If there be any danger by horse, it must be from the Border ; so propose what you judge expedient, and writt it to the E. of Dumbarton. The army is thus posted : the foot and horse and dragoons, which went with Lt. Gen^l. Drummond and Coll^l. Douglas, are at or near Air ; what can be spared from this will go thither also. The militia, which rendezvouses at Lithgow, are to be posted at Glasgow, till they be put in order. Marq^s. of Athole will have above 3000 in Argyleshyr ; the Marq^s. of Huntly some more at Loch Ness head, but not so soon, Athole being already into Argyl. Charles Campbell, sounie to Argyle, is levying in Argyle ; some heritors, and towards 300 comons have joined him.

Argyle keeps the sea with 5 ships : the frigots will be with him shortly. The King hath sent comissiones to Coll. Dowglas and yow, as Brigadiers both of horse and foot ; Douglas is prior in date. Ships by both seas are coming on Argyle ; and some armes both for horse and foot are comeing hither by a yacht. Wee hear that about 30 horsemen came over the border, and returned in few hours. Wee have writt to Feilding, who is deputy governour of Carlyle, to correspond with you, and wee desyre you may with him. Lett us hear frequently, and you shall have still returns from,

Sir,

Your affectionat friends and servants,

Edin. 23 May,
1685.

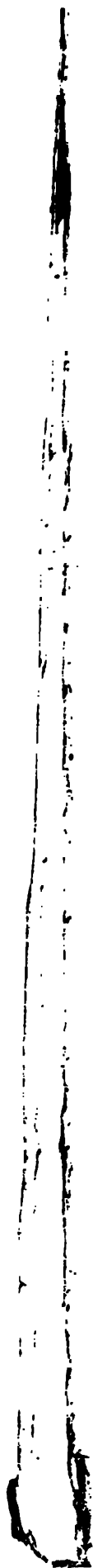
DUNBARTON. QUEENSBERRY, Comr.
TARBAT. PERTH, Cancellr.

Hast Feilding's letter to him.

For his Majesties speciall service.

For Colonell Grahame
of Clevres.





DA 804.1 .D8 A4 1828 C.1
Letters of John Grahame of Cla
Stanford University Libraries



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